

HAILGAN!



(THE STRUGGLE)

ORGAN OF THE SOMALI
REVOLUTIONARI SOCIALIST PART

1st ANNIVERSARY OF THE ORGANISATION OF SOMALI COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT (OSCM)

- *research on maize
in somalia
- *developments in
school enrolment
- *present theories of
capitalist transformation

Struggle to
learn, in order to
learn to
struggle better

HAILGAIN

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EDITORIAL



FRUITFUL YEAR

The world of 1978 has been said farewell to, while the new year of 1979 is being welcomed.

It is natural then in this occasion to take stock of the old year and to express the hope that the new one will be a fruitful one.

In the year of 1978 the glorious Revolution of 21st October marked nine years of its revolutionary endeavours. Throughout the span of these years it has made tremendous achievements in all sectors of human endeavours; be it development in the economical, social and political fields. While in the new year of 1979, the Revolution enter the 10th years of its existence in the implementation of new tasks. That is the execution of the resolutions passed by the Extraordinary Congress of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party (SRSP) and the national-level conference for revolutionarising the administrative machinery of the nation.

Further, other important duties which the Somali people have to carry out in 1979 are an all out support for the Somali Liberation Fronts of Western Somali, Somali Abbo, Eritrea and others. The reason being that the struggle of all the colonised people of the World is one and their aim is the attainment of full freedom and independence. Hence, any victory scored by one particular liberation front is a victory for all others fighting against colonialism, apartheid and zionism. Furthermore, the building of a socialist society devoid of exploitation of man by man and the creation of a new society based on equality and social justice emains the dream illumining the path we are taking. It is to be noted that the building of such society is spell out in both the first and the second Charters of the 21 October Revolution of 1969.

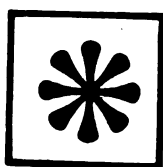
Likewise, in the economic field there is a plan of attaining sufficiency in food production especially in cereals by 1980.

On the other hand, the root of the present conflict in the Horn of Africa is a colonial one. Thus, victory is inevitable one specially for a highly motivated movements such as WSLF, SALF and Eritrea, over the colonial rule of the Ethiopian empire-state. However, it must be emphasised that such victory is contingent upon the crucial factor of time. Therefore, the only viable and lasting peaceful solution of the said question is the reco-

gnition of the inalienable rights of the peoples in the area for self-determination.

Needless to say, such solution would only be possible on the immediate withdrawal of the foreign troops presently occupying major towns of Western Somali, Somali Abbo and Eritrea. Besides, there is an urgent need for the withdrawal of the said troops from the Horn, because their continued presence in the region does not only endanger peace and stability in Africa, the Middle East, but also the World at large. Consequently, let us hope that within the span of this year a positive peaceful solution will be found for the present conflict in the Horn, Namibia, Zimbabwe, and Palestine Questions. Obviously, any solution of the above questions which does not take into consideration the true wishes of the peoples concerned is doomed to failure.

Lastly, let us hope that this year will usher a series of victories for all colonized peoples in the Third World against colonialism, apartheid and zionism.



GRADUATES FROM THE POLITICAL INSTITUTE

Recently, a group of eighty three students graduated from Halane Political Institute. This group is the first of its kind to have completed University education.

This Political Institute was established on May 25, 1974 and the aim behind it was to produce cadres with a profound knowledge of the principles of scientific socialism and capable of following the particular circumstances of Somali society and the objective conditions of the country.

This will enable them to discharge their duties of leading their society and guiding the socialist community. The Institute was founded before the Party (SRSP). But the idea to produce the cadres who would lead the Party was there and the Institute became an organization which is part of the Party.

Any society needs a leadership which is devoted to it. This we have learned from the experience of human societies which have shown us that no class can do without a leadership which is devoted completely to it.

And Jaalle Siad said «Every revolution should create the cadres that would lead it and should not seek support from those trained by the colonialists».

The need of the new Somali society to get revolution-

nary intellectuals has given birth to the institute.

During its existence 528 students graduate from the institute while others attended for one year at university level. The subjects taught at the institute are Philosophy, Political economy, the World Revolutionary Movement and Party Organization. However, in teaching these subjects the peculiar conditions of our country are stressed as well as those countries with which we share the same experience. Hence, several subjects are studied at the institute and in connection with the difficulties of our society.

This mean in practical terms that the graduates from the institute can participate in the economic development of the country and the improving of the political consciousness of the society striving to attain the goal of achieving a good life for the people.

This is because they are armed with a scientific view and knowledge of socialism and they are trained in the leadership of the new community imbued with the principles of the 21st October Revolution and of scientific socialism.

There is no doubt that there can be no revolutionary movement without a revolutionary ideology. That is why Jaalle Siad who was then President of the Supreme Revolutionary Council said «In this Institute will be trained revolutionary cadres».

As we have pointed out the Political Institute of Haldane will produce cadres who believe in scientific socialism without which no socialist society can be founded. Hence, the need for this has been met by the institute and there is no doubt that the target has been achieved.

Political, Economic and Social Affairs



Summary of Research on Maize in Somalia

Maize is one of the most important crops in Somalia. Improvement in the cultural practices and genetic are of fundamental importance in the economy of the country. In this paper a resume of the research on this topic is reported.

Maize and sorghum are two most important grain crops in Somalia. Maize is grown along the rivers Shabelle and Juba where supplement irrigation is available. The cultivated area is estimated to be about 150,000 hectare which is divided into two seasons. The area under maize is usually higher during the «Gu» season (April-July).

Due to the importance of maize in the Somali diet some attempts were made by Italian research workers to improve



maize through better cultural practices and genetic improvement (1, 12), however, the time devoted to it in comparison to that devoted to banana or sugar cane was not adequate to bring noticeable or sustained

progress.

Duksiyeh (2) reporting on the result of work done at C.A.R.S. in 1967 indicated the best plant population to be 33,000 plant per hectare with a row spacing of 100 cm., with a maximum yield of about 29 qt/ha. Two irrigations gave the best yield of 19.24 qt/ha and the response of maize to fertilizer was inconclusive. In the same study a note is made of the major maize pests.

Noor (3) conducted several international and regional maize nursery trial fertilizer experiments (N.P.K.), levels of N and P, the source of N and some herbicide trials. The result indicated that some improved exotic maize varieties gave reasonably high yields. There was a marked response to N and marginal response to P and K.





sponse to K. There was no difference between sources of nitrogen, and several herbicides gave satisfactory weed control.

Mohamed (4) studies the influence of space and N fertilizer on maize yields. The optimum plant population for most yield components was found to be between 40,000 to 50,000 plants/ha. Although there was no reduction in yield to populations higher than 50,000, there was significant increase in the number of barren plants and lodging. Yield increased with the increase of N up to 150 qt/ha.

Alio (5) obtained similar results.

Lazarevic (6) conducted experiments on insect control of maize and obtained significantly higher yield for treated plots. Here the major insect was the stock borer, and satisfactory control was obtained with DDT, Sevin, and granulated basudin.

Dastane (7) found that early planting during the «Gu, Der» seasons was more favorable than late planting. The best plant population was around

40,000, there was response to increasing levels of N and P and no response to K. Four irrigations gave the best yields for the «Gu» season, while 6 irrigations gave the best yield during the «Der». Aba Noor (8) has shown that in the «Der» 1976, interval of irrigation was more important than volume of irrigation. Intervals of 15 days or less gave the best yields.

The staff of the Agricultural Research Institute has put together a research circular (9) that was meant to include re-

commendations based on the best available information on maize cultivation in Somalia. The application of this circular to one hectare by the staff of the Faculty of Agriculture (10) gave a yield of 36 qt/ha. The application of at least some of the recommendation is now under way at Libsoma farm at Mordinle.

An attempt was made to form a composite in order to increase the yield over the existing local variety. The advantages if composite breeding are:

1. It has wide germ plasm from diverse resources, hence heterosis is not lost rapidly.

2. There are no seed agencies or companies capable of maintenance of large number of inbred lines, their testing, and hybrid production.

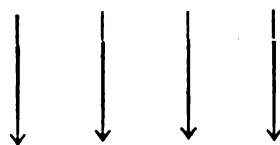
3. It has been shown that the composite can approach single and double hybrids in yield.

4. It requires the least man-power.

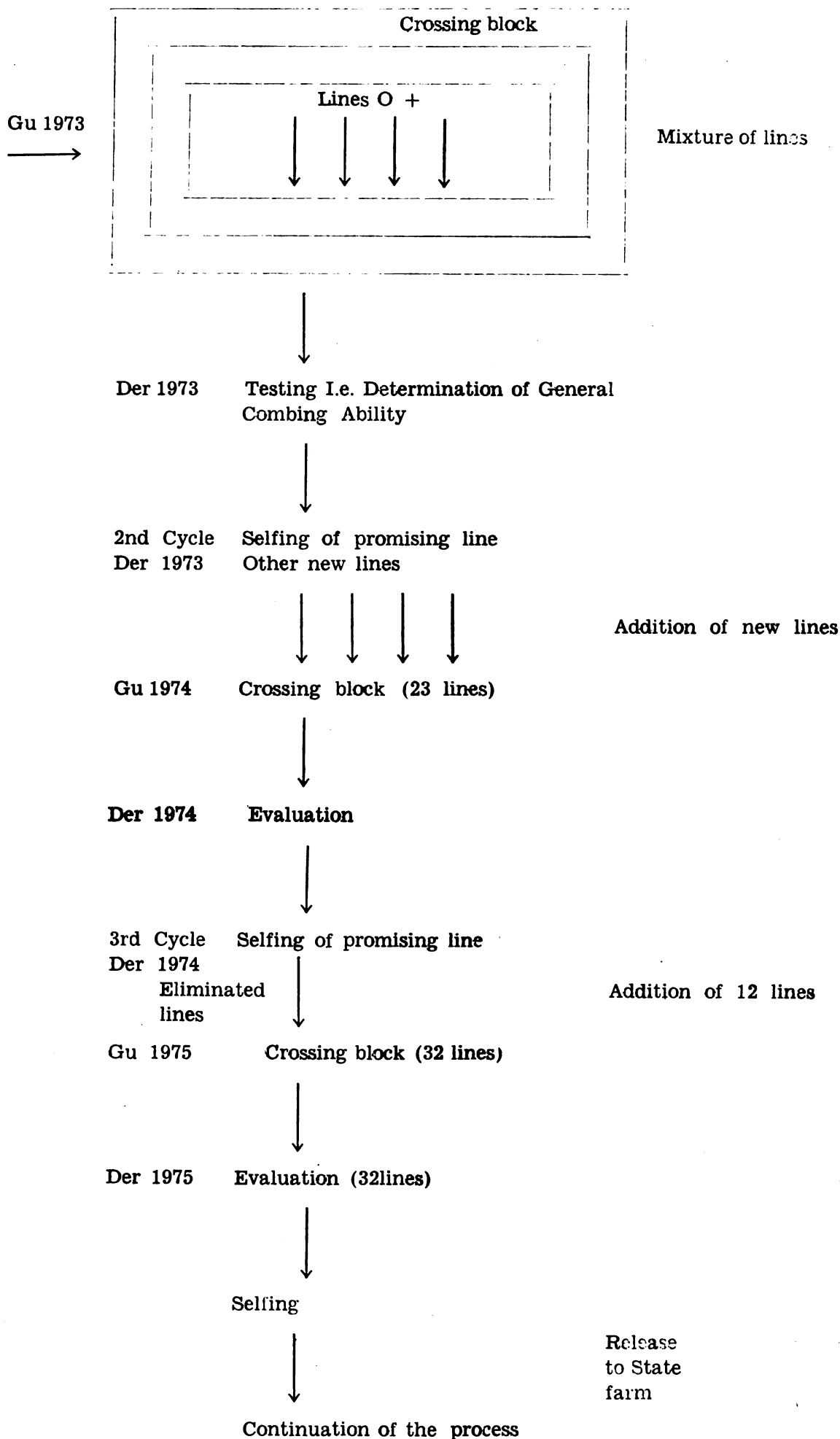
An outline of the methodology used is outlined below (11):

AN OUTLINE OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF MAIZE COMPOSITE AT AFGOI

1st Cycle Der 1972	Selection of promising germplasm from FAO Régional Maize Trail and International Maize Adaption Nursery.
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Selfing of individual enteries



Further studies (14) on the influence of N and P fertilizers confirmed the findings of previous studies.

Nur (15) in a study of the biology and the control of spotted stock bores (*Chilo partellus* Swinhoe), has indicated that substantial yield increases could be obtained if the stock borer was controlled.

Granular Furadan 10G at the rate of 3.0 a. i/ha (one application), and granular Diazinon 10G at 0.5 i/ha (2 application), gave the best results.

CONCLUSION:

It is apparent from this review that:

1. It is possible to introduce or develop a germ plasm with higher yield potential than or local variety (hybrids and composites).

2. A nitrogen application of 50-75 qt/ha could be safely recommended. P results are inconclusive.

3. The control of the stock borers would result in significant increases in yield. Here the most effective and practical applications are granular formulations applied to the funnel (Diazinon) or applied to the soil in case of Furadan.

4. Forth-nightly (2 weeks) irrigation intervals are quite adequate.

5. The best plan population seem to be around 50,000 plant/ha.

6. Early planting is more appropriate than late planting, in order to get the full benefit of the rain as well as supplemental irrigation.

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APPENDIX

TABLE 1

MAIZE VARIETY TRIAL AT CENTRO AGRARIO
GOVERNATIVO DI GENALE (AFTER BIGI 1962)

Varietà	Q.li/ha	Varietà	Q.li/ha
Funk's G 99	42.00	Funks's G 91	26.88
U 6	37.66	Funk's G 30	26.58
Embro 1SS W	35.80	Funk's G 144	26.43
Wisconsin 641 AA	35.55	U 28	26.13
U S 13	34.31	U 50	26.12
Famk's G 512W	33.95	Jowa 4316	25.95
Ohio C 92	33.36	U 32	25.91
Indiana 750 A	32.65	U 26	24.82
Funk's G 777 W	31.80	Funk's G 68	24.20
Funk's G 59	31.53	Maygold 99 A	24.05
Locale dentato	31.35	U 3	23.74
U 4	30.65	U 41	21.25
Funk's G 37	30.30	Wisconsin 464	19.99
U 59	29.88	Funk's G 19	18.88
Maygold 59	29.59	Wisconsin 355	18.38
Funk's G 77	29.52	U 22	18.30
Locale Vitreo	29.26		

TABLE 2.

MAIZE VARIETY TRIAL AT AZIENDA DELLA SOCIETA'
ROMANA IN JUBA (AFTER BIGI 1962).

Varietà	Media Q.li/Ha
Ascrow 420 A	20.0
Embros 101	15.0
Asgrow 44	13.3
Bianca Locale	16.6
Asgrow-Indian 750 A	16.6
Funk's 99	16.6
Embros 155	18.3
Embros 49	18.5

TABLE 3.

MAIZE VARIETY TRIAL AT AZIENDA S.A.I.S.
GENALE AREA (AFTER BIGI 1962).

Varietà	Media Q.li/Ha
Asgrow 420 A	24.25
Embros 101	26.17
Asgrow 44	25.95
Bianca Locale	22.72
Asgrow-Indiana 750 A	19.80
Funk's G 99	22.94
Embros 155	24.25
Embros 49	22.04

TABLE 4.

THE RESPONSE OF IRRIGATED MAIZE YIELD TO PLANT
POPULATION AT CARS-Afgoi, «DER» 1967
(AFTER DUKSEYEH 1968).

TREATMENT No. of P/Ha	GRAIN YIELD Qt/Ha
40,000	20.00
42,500	14.00
50,000	16.87
55,000	17.00
60,000	16.12

TABLE 5

THE YIELD COMPARISON OF THE 10 BEST VARIETIES OF
INTERNATIONAL MAIZE ADAPTION. NURSERY WITH THE
LOCAL VARIETY IN «GU» 1971 (PROG. REPORT C.A.R.S. 1971)

Variety	Yield in Qt/Ha
1. Pioneer X 304	104.36
2. Diacol H — 253	97.56
3. Ica H — 154	95.10
4. Inia H — 412	90.15
5. Kawenda Comp A	87.07
6. Salco	86.15
7. Ica H — 352	85.83
8. Sintetico Amarelo Maria 2	83.98
9. Comp. L (me) C — 5	83.98
10. DV. 351 SM 111 Ciclo	83.36
11. Local Check	54.34

TABLE 6

THE YIELD OF THE INTERNATIONAL MAIZE ADAPTION
NURSERY AT AFGOI, 1972 (AFER NOOR 1973).

Entry	Yield Qt/Ha	Origin 6
C.T.B.	37.1	Ivory Coast
E—H 4207	52.8	India
I CA H 154	45.1	Colombia
Sam 2	35.6	Peru
J.M. 222	23.5	India
H 101	55.0	El Salvador
Alato	33.3	Argentina
FM 211	37.0	Peru
Pioneer X 306	61.8	Jamaica
Ganga 4	58.1	India
PMS 263	19.2	Peru
Pioneer X 306 A	69.1	Jamaica
Pergamino Guazu	31.4	Argentina
PMC 1	26.4	Peru
E.H. 2365	57.4	India
Poey B — 19	27.2	Mexico
Pioneer X 306 B	56.2	Jamaica
C.D.N.	49.2	Ivory Coast
Poey B — 15	31.6	Mexico
ICA H 452	8.0	Colombia
PMC 2	39.5	Peru
Poey T — 80	38.9	Mexico
Pioneer X 352	33.4	Jamaica
D.H 352	17.3	Colombia
PMC 3	29.1	Peru
Poey T — 27	39.5	Mexico
Pioneer X 354	38.8	Jamaica
ICA HS 209	42.0	Colombia
Poey T — 31	22.2	Mexico
ICA H — 302	30.2	Colombia
PMC 4 —	33.4	Peru
Pioneer X B 101	37.6	Jamaica
ICA H 207	44.4	Colombia
PM 203	15.4	Peru
Poey B — 10	29.1	Mexico
D.H. 253	7.4	Colombia
Pioneer X B 101 A	22.2	Jamaica
PMS 264	18.5	Peru
H — 5	26.6	Salvador
Poey T — 84	21.6	Mexico
E to Planta Baja	18.0	Cimmyt
Tuxp CR. L. PI Baji	19.8	"
Inia San Juan	29.6	Mexico
Inia Copm. V	38.3	Mexico
H — /	22.2	El Salvador
Inia H — 507	27.2	Mexico
Inia H — 503	24.7	Mexico
Inia VS — 450	22.2	Mexico
Local	30.8	Somalia

TABLE 7

THE RESPONSE OF THE LOCAL MAIZE AND H—511 TO NPK
(AFTER NOOR 1973).

Treatment	Dose in kg/Ha	Local	Yield Qt/Ha H—511
NPK	100,50,50	29.2	23.2
— N	0,50,50	7.9	6.6
— P	100,0,50	24.0	21.9
— K	100,50,0	30.0	26.4
Control	0,0,0	24.9	6.0

TABLE 8

THE RESPONSE OF LOCAL MAIZE AND KATAMAN
COMPOSITE B TO DIFFERENT LEVELS OF N AND P IN
MAIZE/MAIZE ROTATION (AFTER NOOR 1973)

Treatment and dose	Yield in Qt/Ha	
	K.C.B.	Local
1. 0 — 0 — 0	12.5	13.8
2. 0 — 50 — 0	13.5	13.2
3. 0 — 100 — 0	14.0	13.3
4. 50 — 0 — 0	23.5	23.6
5. 50 — 50 — 0	23.0	21.2
6. 50 — 100 — 0	25.5	21.2
7. 100 — 0 — 0	22.5	20.4
8. 100 — 50 — 0	28.0	30.0
9. 100 — 100 — 0	29.5	30.4
10. 150 — 0 — 0	29.5	27.9
11. 150 — 50 — 0	31.5	30.6
12. 150 — 100 — 0	33.5	32.7

TABLE 9

THE RESPONSE OF THE LOCAL VARIETY TO DIFFERENT
LEVELS OF N AND P UNDER COMPEA/MAIZE ROTATION
(AFTER NOOR 1973)

Treatment	Yield in Qt/Ha
1. 0 — 0 — 0	18.9
2. 0 — 50 — 0	22.7
3. 0 — 100 — 0	21.4
4. 50 — 0 — 0	34.8
5. 50 — 50 — 0	39.6
7. 100 — 0 — 0	38.0
8. 100 — 50 — 0	44.9
9. 100 — 100 — 0	40.2
10. 150 — 0 — 0	40.8
11. 150 — 50 — 0	39.6
12. 150 — 100 — 0	35.9

TABLE 10

THE RESPONSE OF MAIZE TO DIFFERENT LEVELS OF P
(AFTER NOOR 1973)

Level of N	Level of P	Yield in Qt/Ha
100	0	37.0
100	50	39.5
100	100	39.5

TABLE 11
THE RESPONSE OF MAIZE YIELD TO N FERTILIZER
AND SPACING (Qt/Ha) (AFTER MOHAMED 1975)

N. Fertilizer in Kg/Ha	Spacing in cm.				Average
	15	20	25	30	
0	19.9	23.6	21.9	30.2	23.9 bc*
50	26.9	29.8	26.0	32.9	28.5 bc
100	34.6	35.2	34.4	32.4	34.5 ab
150	39.6	34.8	36.5	34.8	36.4 a
Average	30.2a	30.8a	29.6a	33.1	

* Figures followed by the same letter are not significantly different.

TABLE 12
MAIZE GRAIN YIELDS OF DIFFERENT INSECTICIDAL
TREATMENTS OBTAINED IN 1973 GU AND DER SEASONS
AT C.A.R.S. AFGOI (AFTER LAZAREVIC 1975)

Treatment	Yield in Kg/Ha	
	Der Season	Gu Seasons
1. Control-Unsprayed	2073	3178
2. DDT 1.5 Kg/Ha	2327	4350
3. Sevin 1.5 Kg/Ha	2198	4257
4. Basudin in Granules 0.5/Ha	2317	4371

TABLE 13
THE RESPONSE OF MAIZE TO: SOWING DATE POPULATION
VARIETY (AFTER DASTANE 1974) (IRRIGATION 4, N₈₀,
P₅₀ AND K₅₀ Kg/Ha) (YIELD IN Qt/)

Popula- tion/Ha	Pink Variety			White Variety			
	15/4	1/5	15/5	15/4	1/5	15/4	Mean
40,000	35.28	34.21	24.72	27.54	20.75	23.82	28.27
60,000	40.78	32.02	25.52	30.14	16.68	21.84	27.83
80,000	35.77	23.53	20.63	33.36	24.06	23.04	24.37
Mean	37.28	29.91	24.72	30.35	20.50	22.90	

TABLE 14
THE RESPONSE OF MAIZE TO N AND P FERTILIZERS
(AFTER DASTANE 1974)

P. Level	N-LEVEL IN Kg/Ha				
	0	50	100	150	Mean
0	17.84	27.52	32.18	33.96	27.87
50	23.38	34.18	38.98	41.31	34.46
100	27.32	34.98	43.20	46.17	37.91
Mean	22.84	32.22	38.12	40.48	

TABLE 15
THE EFFECT OF VOLUME AND INTERVAL OF IRRIGATION
ON MAIZE YIELD (Qt/Ha) (AFTER BANA ABA NOOR 1978)

Volume	600	46.01	45.10	28.57	39.89
in					
m ³ /Ha	900	49.56	45.22	39.35	44.71
Average		47.78	45.16	33.96	

N.B. (C.D. for volume is 4.172 Qt/Ha and for interval is 5.1)

TABLE 16

THE RESPONSE OF MAIZE YIELD TO LEVELS OF N AND P
(C.A.R.S. PROGRESS REPORT 1977).

Levels of N in qt/ha	Yield in Q/Ha Level of P ₂ O ₅			
	0	50	100	Mean
0	36.0	35.3	46.1	39.1
50	51.0	52.6	52.4	52.0
100	45.1	52.9	51.8	49.9
150	40.1	48.7	51.8	46.9
Mean	43.0	47.4	50.5	47.0

C D. = 6.9

C.D. (Body of the table) = 13.79

TABLE 17

THE RESPONSE OF MAIZE YIELD TO DEPTH OF
PLACEMENT OF P (AFTER C.A.R.S. PROGRESS
REPORT 1977)

Deghr in cm.	Yield in Qt/Ha				
	R I	R II	R III	R IV	Mean
5	48.7	55.1	55.3	51.4	52.75
10	59.2	58.2	58.4	53.9	57.42
15	59.6	52.8	48.5	59.0	55.00

TABLE 18

MAIZE YIELD OF DRY GRAIN IN Qt/Ha (DER 1976)
RESULTING FROM INSECTICIDE TREATMENT
(AFTER A.F. NUR 1978)

Product		Kg. a.i/ha	Yield in Qt/Ha
1.	Carboryl 85% WP	1.7 (2Appl.)	23.3
2.	Diazinon IDG	0.5 (1Appl.)	34.4
3.	Diazinon IDG	0.5 (2Appl.)	35.6
4.	Undertreated Check	None	13.9
5.	Puradan 10G	0.75 (1Appl.)	30.0
6.	Puradan 10G	1.5 (1Appl.)	32.0
7.	Puradan 10G	3.0 (1Appl.)	40.0



Development of School Enrolment

BY: YUSUF OMER

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this report is to highlight (a) Some of the most characteristic features of the quantitative expansion of our educational system during 1960-1975, and (b) continuation upto 1985. To give a long term perspective, projections are also made for the period ending at the 20th century. The objective of the projections presented here is to suggest what will happen if the trends observed in the enrolment indices were to continue along the main lines as defined by this model. The projections are thus conditional and the assumption is the continuation of the past trends.

I hope this short extract of the report will be of great help to those who are responsible for educational planning and unable to get enough time to

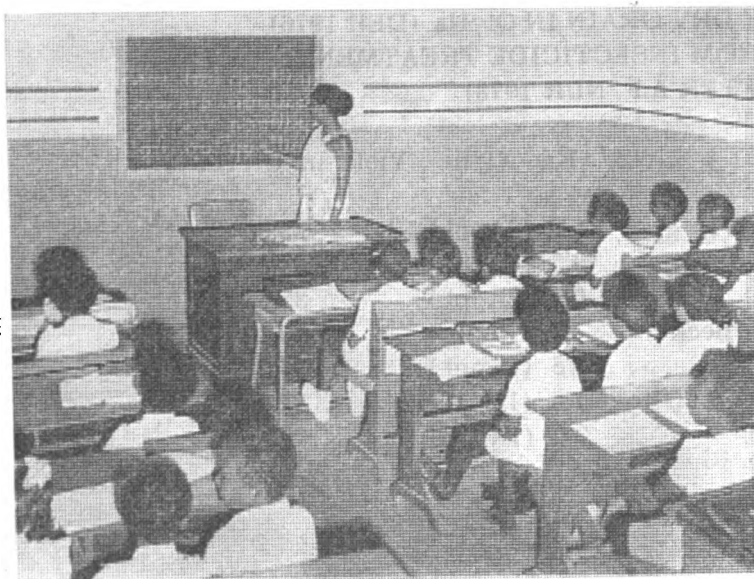


study the full text of the report. Also, this may be of some use for all those who are interested in both global and regional educational developments to obtain directives and guidelines in developing

their own national educational system.

EVALUATION OF EDUCATION IN THE INTERNATIONAL ARENA

The rapid expansion of enrolment experienced during 1960's continued during the first half of the 1970's as a dominating trend in the educational development witnessed by most countries. However, the two main regions of the world-less developed regions and more developed regions-as they are known today - put their emphasis in different as-



Extracted from the report on «International Conference on Education 36th Session». Geneva 1977.

pects according to their need. In the less - developed regions (LDRS), serious efforts were made to each targets such as universal primary education, the eradication of illiteracy and the production of qualified manpower. During the period 1960 - 1975 their enrolment in primary education doubled, that of secondary education tripled and that of higher education was almost four and half times higher in 1975 and than in 1960.

Unlike the LDHs, the more developed regions (MDRs) gave priority to the enrolment in secondary and higher education. The main efforts of governments were directed towards promoting greater equality of educational opportunities between different groups of the population. For instance, in that period, the rate of increase in enrolment in primary education was 6%, that in the secondary education 68% and that in higher education 171%. By 1975, the MDRs were approaching universal enrolment for the two age groups 6 - 11 and 12 - 17 years and about 30% of the population aged 18 - 23 years were enrolled in the school. In the case of LDRs the enrolment ratio for the same age-groups were 62%, 35% and 8.7% respectively. However, there are variations between different developing regions of Africa, South Asia and Latin America.

ENROLMENT BY SEX AND AGE

The rate of enrolment of girls in MDRs, in Primary and secondary schools, were about the same level as that of boys during the period 1960 - 1975, however, the percentage of girls in institutions of higher learning increased from 35 to 44. In the ca-

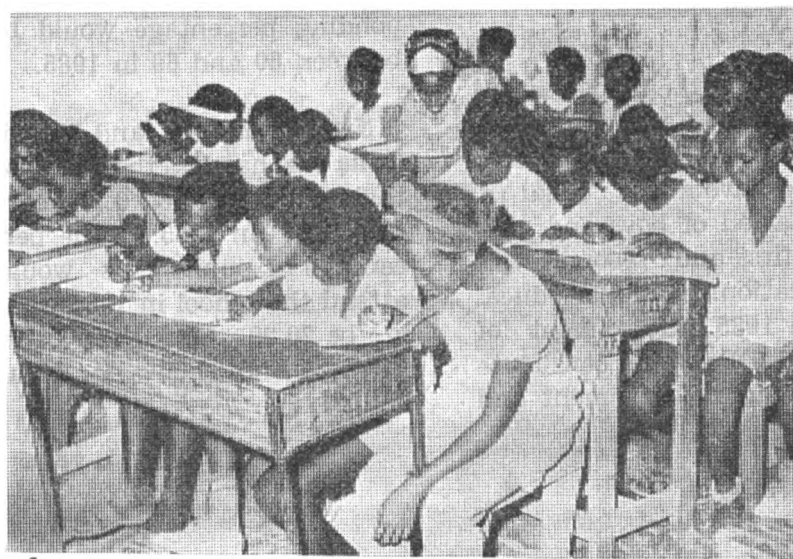
se of LDRs the enrolment of girls in 1975 was markedly lower than that of boys (i.e 43% of total enrolment for first level, 36% at the second level and 33% at the third level), despite the fact that the period 1960 - 1975 showed substantial improvement.

By 1985, the MDRs would have achieved universal enrolment in the age-group 6 - 17 years and would have about 36% of their population aged 18 - 23 years in school, if the trends observed were to continue. The enrolment ratio for LDRs would be 68% for the age-group 6-11 42% for the 12-17 and 12% for the age-group 16-23. The ratio in the case of Latin America and South Asia will continue to increase for all the age-groups. In Africa, enrolments would continue to grow faster than in South Asia, with the consequence, by the age-group 6-23 years would be higher in Africa than in South Asia. However, disparities in enrolment ratio within Africa will increase.

In 1985 the 25 least - developed countries (of which 16 are African) as well as the six Sa-

hal countries will further lag behind the average enrolment of the continent registered in 1975. By 1985, 17 of the 24 Latin American countries (constituting 82% of the continent's population) would have more than 80% of their children aged 6-11 years in school. In Africa the number of countries having passed this level of enrolment would be 18 out of the 46 countries (constituting 23% of the continent's population). Finally, for South Asia 13 out of the 17 countries in the region (constituting 12% of the regions population) would have crossed this level of enrolment.

In 1985, the primary school enrolment in the LDRs would represent about 84% of their population aged 6-11 years, assuming that there will be no repeaters. The corresponding figures would be 75% for South Asia, 28% for Africa and 12% for Latin America. In South Asia the capacity would be slightly higher since about 68% of the regions population are in countries where the primary education consists of only five years and it would be lower in Latin America where about 40% of the population belo-



ngs to countries where primary education runs for eight years. By this year, Latin America would be the only one region capable of offering universal primary education.

POPULATION PROJECTIONS AND AN INCREASE OF ENROLMENT OF LDRS

In order to maintain their 1975 enrolment ratio for the age group 6-11 years the LDRs would have to increase their enrolment by 25% during the period 1975-1985 if the population were to grow according to the «Low» variant of U.N population projections, 30% in the «Medium» variant and 33% in the «High» variant. For the period 1975 - 2000 it would be 50%, 73% and 93% respectively for the three variants. In attaining the enrolment ratio projected for the age-group 6-11 in 1985, the enrolment increase would be 39% for «Low» variant, 44% for «Medium» variant, and 47% for «High» variant, while the corresponding increase for the year 2000 as projected would be 84%, 118% and 140% respectively.

VARIATIONS OF ENROLMENT BY SEX AS PROJECTED IN 1985

As regards the disparities in enrolment by sex, the MDRs and Latin America would continue to have about equal representation of boys and girls in the first and second levels of education. In higher education in 1985 the enrolment of girls in MDRs would constitute 45% of total enrolment and

that in Latin America would constitute 41%. For South Asia the enrolment in Primary classes would be 42%, in the secondary and post-secondary levels 35 percent each. For Africa the representation of girls would be 44%, 38% and 30% in primary, secondary and post secondary levels respectively.

PUPIL / TEACHER RATIO

In order to maintain pupil/teacher ratio existing in 1975 at primary levels, LDRs would have to increase their stock of primary teachers by 3 millions between 1975 and 1985. At the secondary level they have to increase the stock of teachers by 2.3 millions between 1975 and 1985. This is in contrast to the MDRs situation in the sense that MDRs will require only minimal increase in their stock of teachers at both primary and secondary levels.

RAPID PROGRESS OF ENROLMENT FOR SOMALIA

If we estimate the trends of development in Somalia along the same line we find that Somalia had less than 10% of its children aged 6-11 years enrolled in school in 1965. Should the trend continue the corresponding percentage would be between 60 and 69 in 1985.

Niger, Ethiopia and Muaritia also had less than 10% of their children aged 6-11 years in school in 1965. The percentage of pupil that would attend the school in 1985 would be 20-29% for Niger and Ethiopia and 30-39% for Muaritia.

African countries like Upper Volta, Mali, Gambia, Sudan, Guinea, Burundi, Chad, Senegal, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Benin, Mozambique, Nigeria and Tanzania who had higher percentage of enrolments of between the ages 6 - 11 years in 1965 would all have less percentage than Somalia in 1985.

This means, that Somalia will register a rapid progress of enrolment in schools for the age-group 6-11 years and for both sexes between 1965 and 1985. It also means that Somalia will be ahead of other African countries in terms of the school attendance at the primary levels.

CONCLUSION

The considerable quantitative success as projected here may mislead many countries and make them forget to improve the qualitative aspect of it which is equally important. This is particularly the case for developing ones where the educational needs of increasing number of young people were not met by the regular systems. Consequently, much hope is placed on various forms of non-formal education. The developing countries are with inequalities of educational opportunities and the need to introduce reforms in content and structure. They also face demand for life-long and adult educational programmes. Furthermore, both developed and developing countries are increasingly concerned about employment opportunities for the school leavers.

PARTY LIFE



First Anniversary of the Somali Cooperative Organization

BY: Mohamed Dahir Afrah

On 8th January of this year the first anniversary organisation of the Somali Cooperative Movement was observed, and thus a year has elapsed since that body's establishment.

Delegates from all the cooperatives and from all the regions and districts met at the Police Academy in Mogadishu. The organization of these cooperatives has new features. First it is a social political organization, second, it belongs to the working class of the country and is characterized by production. Third it has united the farmers, the fishermen the skilled labourers and all these who lived in the past under the oppression of colonialism and the reactionary regimes that followed.

Every society is based and its life is directed by material production. The October Revolution bearing this scientific truth in mind, gave priority to those who are directly tied to material production or let us say the producers of food, these being in great demand by the rest of society and the ones to have been exploited for a long time. The creation and the encouragement of the cooperatives was one of the steps undertaken by the Revolution for the welfare of such people.



When the Revolution had come and the Public Relations Office, later to become the political office had been established, measures were taken in hand to mobilise the small workers that included peasants, fishermen, goldsmith, tailors, the black smiths etc.

After much orientation and constant training on 24th December 1974 the first cooperative of Somali farmers was founded at the village of Ugunji of Merca District in accordance with LAW N. 40. The cooperative was named «Kulmis» and it enrolled 3640 peasants as its members. It was thus that the realization of cooperatives was put into effect..

blessings of the political office of the Presidency and the support of some government departments began their struggle to liberate themselves from the exploitation of the bourgeoisie. They succeeded concretely in their fight and in being free from the parasitism in which they had lived. Secondly, their struggle gave them the confidence that they could from now on rely on their own resources. Moreover, they came to realise the value of Cooperation and to understand the role they can play in the remaking of society as workers dismissing the former image of themselves as worthless a false propaganda spread by their exploiters.

The cooperatives with the

The Somali Revolutionary

Socialist Party (SRSP) came into being when the political maturity of these workers had reached good level and consequently it appreciated the need for creating one unifying organization for the various loose cooperative.

In Socialist countries where a Party of a new type leads the destiny of given to the cooperatives

In Socialist society where private exploitative property is combated, there are two types of property:

1. State property that represents the interests of the people.
2. Cooperative property that belongs to the small workers where people of the same calling or occupation get together and pool their production and the state subsidizes them so as to increase their production and live a better life free from parasitism. From this it is apparent how socialism attaches great importance to cooperatives

in the interests of the workers and the welfare of the toiling masses in general.

The Bureau of Cooperatives of the SRSP takes the responsibility of improving the position of the cooperatives and to establish an independent organization that would unify the various cooperatives in the country. This objective has born fruit and steps have been taken to obviate future difficulties.

The Chairman of the Organization of Cooperatives Movement, Jaalle Warsame Abdullahi told «Halgan» in an interview «Experience has shown us that a society cannot be fruitfully guided without an organization which can effectively rally the masses».

On the question regarding the victories achieved by the cooperatives he pointed to the maturity and self-confidence acquired by those who belong to it, the farmers and fishermen, which shows that today they are no more the trodden class of yesterday but bear the responsibilities of the people and they are the po-

licy makers and the representatives of the masses abroad. Jaalle Warsame pointed out however, that there are real difficulties among which there is a scarcity of cadres and a low level of political consciousness among the people whether it be among the cooperatives or others.

Today membership of the cooperatives has reached 33581 persons and they are divided into 337 cooperatives as shown here below.

- Farmers 253 Cooperatives
- Fishermen 18 Cooperatives.
- Commerce 28 Cooperatives.
- Livestock and Forests 12 Cooperatives.
- Skilled labourers 16 Cooperatives.
- Construction and Transport 7 Cooperatives.

Under construction just at present is the Food Cooperative.

We congratulate the Organization of the Somali Cooperative Movement and all their branches on their first anniversary, wishing them success every year to come.

Celebration of 11th January

On the night of 11th January the inhabitants of Hamar Jajab district participated in celebrations held in memory of the day 11th January which is of great historical significance to

the Somali people.

Members of the executive committee of the Somali Women's Democratic Organization took part in the

event and made speeches. Other participants also were members of the political Committee of Benadir Region.

The event was not observed only in Hamar Jajab district but also in the other districts of the Benadir Region and the other districts of the country and people all over commemorated this

great day with great pomp, this day which coincides with several other historical events.

For to begin with this great day marks the occasion when the struggle «Hannoolaato» was waged, the freedom - struggle of the Somali people led by the SYL Party. It was on this day that the Somali masses

engaged the Italian colonial enemy in a bitter fight sacrificing the lives of several heroes including Hawo Isman (Tako) who by her valiant deeds testified to the role of women in the freedom-struggle.

11th Janauray also marks another important event and that is the day when

in 1974 the equality of women and men was declared and the family law was promulgated to show the right way to realize this equality. This new law did not give practical effect to the dignity of women but also became instrumental in transforming the family life and all the social relations in

general.

For society is made up of individuals, and the family is made up of these individuals. Therefore, in order to transform society it is first essential to reform the family. It is on this premise that the Somali Revolution has based itself in formulating the family law.

Solidarity of the Somali Workers

A big demonstration was held on the 10th of January 1979 at the town of Jowhar in commemoration of the 4th Anniversary of the solidarity day between the Somali farmers and workers. Starting from the 10th of January 1976, it has been acknowledged every year as a day of solidarity between the above segment in the Somali society.

Hence the observation of this day is devoted to the staging of activities such as, procession, parades befitting the occasion. That is the creation of unified opinion among the Somali workers and farmers. Also it means raising the level of their class consciousness. However, the second anniversary of the above occasion was held in 10th January 1977 at El-Jaalle on the outskirt of Merca, the capital of lower Shabelle Region. The participants in the said function were 1500 workers who came from the various regions and districts of the Somali Democratic Republic. While the third Anniversary in 1978 was held at the Police Academy in Mogadishu.

In contrast, the fourth A-

nniversary was held at Jowhar the capital of the Central Shabelle Region. The reason for choosing Jowhar as the venue of the above anniversary was made possible by the predominance of farmers in the area as well as the presence of sizeable number of workers in the sugar factory of Jowhar and other projects in the area. However, this year the Anniversary was the biggest one due to number of participants in the festivities held for the occasion. The total number of workers who participated in the affair were more than ten thousand. As was stated earlier the paramount aim of the commemoration is the creation of class consciousness as well as cementing solidarity between the Somali workers and farmers.

Above all, this year function was an important one due to the participation in the affair by the Assistant Secretary General for SRSP and Vice-President of the Somali Democratic Republic Brig. Gen. Ismail Ali Abokor, and other members of the CC of SRSP.

In an address made by Jaa-

lle Ismail he spoke about the important value attached to the solidarity between the Somali workers and farmers further he talked about the plight of the Somali workers before the birth of the Revolutionary era such as their participation in the administration of their respective establishments though the medium of workers committees.

Furthermore, Jaalle Ismail emphasised the due importance which the Revolution attached to the Somali farmers in the utilisation and the concentration of their energies in the building of cooperatives. This the role of the farmers in the edification of the national economy entails them to increase their productive capacities.

On the other hand, before Jaalle Ismail delivered the speech a short speech was delivered by the chairman of the Somali Cooperatives Movement Organization Jaalle Warsame Abdullahi. He spoke about the role of the cooperatives in the building of the national economy and the edification of a socialist society.

Co-operation Among the Districts of Benadir

In the first week of January, a programme of co-operation for the thirteen districts of Benadir Region was initiated. The Districts on the Eastern part of Benadir are Shangani, Abdulaziz, Shibis, Karan, Yagshid and Bondeere.

The programme was the outcome of deliberations held recently among the district Party secretaries on the 26th of December, the aim being to formulate a plan for uniting the revolutionary forces of the districts that are within the same neighbourhood.

The plan was made up like this:

a) A meeting was held among the district party committees and all the cells of the various quarters of the districts. This was on 1st January.

b) On the 2nd January

a meeting was held in Yagshid District among the social groups of the districts.

c) On the 3rd of January a meeting was held among the women and among the various cultural and folklore groups of the districts.

d) In Shanganni a seminar was opened for the Party committees of the six Eastern districts; this was on the 4th of January. Other Participants in this seminar were the committees of the Gulwade (Green guards) and the training lasted until the 9th of that month. The seminar was inaugurated by Jaalle Ahmed Shire Mohamed Chairman of the Bureau of investigation and Defence of the Central Committee and the Party's representative of Shangani. The seminar was concerned with the

party programme and the execution of the duties of the Party in general.

Jaalle Ahmed talked on the need of cooperation among the progressive forces of the districts in regard to the aim of the party and requested the participants to realize this programme and the aspirations of the Somali people.

There is no doubt this programme of cooperation undertaken by the Eastern districts will bear fruit if the cadres of these districts make the necessary efforts and the seminar will enable them to know each other and to exchange experience among themselves. And they will be a good example for the rest of the districts of the region and the other districts of the country.

WORLD AFFAIRS



NICARAGUA:

The People Against A Dictator

by, Hussein M. Adan

Nicaragua is situated in the Central America with Honduras to the North and Costa Rica to the South of its borders. Nicaragua covers an area of 57,143 square miles with a population of 2.2 Million.

Previously inhabited by various Indian tribes, Nicaragua was conquered by Spain in 1552. After gaining independence from Spain in 1821, Nicaragua was united for a short period with Mexico, then with the United Provinces of Central America before finally becoming an independent Republic in 1838.

The majority of its over 2 Million people are of mixed blood, commonly termed «mestizos» (about 70 per cent); 20 per cent are whites and 10 per cent of the people are blacks from Africa. The national language is Spanish and over 95 percent of the people are Roman Catholics. Nicaragua emerged from Spanish Colonial rule under the leadership of dictatorial cliques bent on preserving the territory under the neo-colonial umbrella of the United States. Between 1938 and 1950, FOR EXAMPLE, Nicaragua has had 9 constitutions. As in other Latin American countries during the past, United States marines constantly intervened and occupied the country, the last time from 1926 to 1933.

Us marines helped put the

Somoza family in power during those years. The elder general Anastasio Somoza reigned for over 20 years as a classical neo-colonial dictator. He was assassinated in 1956.

The current dictator, Somoza-Debayle, is reported to have accumulated a vast personal fortune estimated at 500 Million dollars. While the Somoza clique enjoys fabulous wealth, the majority of the people of Nicaragua have to endure poverty, disease, ignorance and countless hardships. The illiteracy rate is as high as 60 per cent, primary schools run for only 2 or 3 years and they are hardly sufficient for the population. There is very little welfare legislation and even the few laws that exist are rarely enforced.

The dependent economy of Nicaragua is mostly based on agriculture. Among the country's chief crops are: Cotton, Coffee, Bananas, Fruit, Sugar, Rice, Corn, Cocoa and Tobacco. Cotton and Coffee make up the greater part of Nicaragua's exports. United states and Canadian firms are also involved in the mining of gold, silver and copper.

Nicaragua has experienced serious natural calamities in recent years. The 1972 earthquake devastated the capital city of managua, killing 10,000 and leaving 250,000 people homeless.

Somoza allowed his cronies and the National Guard to loot reserve supplies intended for the victims of the earthquake. He was severely criticised and his regime suffered a minor jolt. He resigned in 1972 and was succeeded by a 3-man National Junta. However, he managed to get himself «re-elected» as President again on September 1st, 1974. He continued to impose strict censorship of the press and to imprison, torture and even kill all political opponents.

Radical opposition forces to the Somoza dictatorship are grouped around the Sandinista National Liberation Front, named after general Augusto Cesar Sandino, a guerrilla leader who fought the United States occupation of Nicaragua in the 1930's. The people see the Sandinistas as liberating heroes.

Other opposition groups have formed the Democratic Liberal Union (UDEL), a coalition of labour unions and middle class political parties of the left and center.

In 1977, Nicaragua's Roman Catholic bishops charged that the Government had tortured, raped and executed civilians in the vicious campaigns it waged against the Sandinista guerrillas. A ruling class imposed its dictatorship by maintaining ideological hegemony coupled by military force. The

crisis between the Somoza regime and the official spokesmen of the Catholic Church. The religious-ideological deprived the regime of all support of the religious-ideological apparatus of state power.

Liberal opinion was shocked by the assassination of Pedro Joaquín Chamorro, editor of Nicaragua's only opposition newspaper and critic of the regime. Most people believed that it was Somoza's henchmen who assassinated the opposition editor in January, 1978.

The January 1978 murder touched off massive demonstrations and rioting against the regime. Then came the events of August - September 1978, unleashed when the Sandinistas seized the National Palace in late August eventually making off with 500,000 dollars in ransom money and securing the freedom of 59 political prisoners.

The Sandinista's daring action stirred popular passions and Nicaraguans resumed marches and demonstration. Deprived of all semblance of authority, Somoza resorted to the use of brutal, naked force. He unleashed the 7,500-Man National Guard, which serves as the President's personal police force. By the time the popular struggles quieted down early in October, Somoza's planes and heavy artillery had destroyed five cities, and over 3,000 people had been killed.

During the fighting, general strike was called. This was supported even by the moderate bourgeois-oriented Federation of Chambers of Commerce. Thus the world was presented with spectacle of a dictator viciously at war with his own people. At one point, a spokesman of the regime announced that an anti-Somoza Plot within the National Guard's ranks had been crushed.

The dramatic isolation of the Somoza dictatorship within Nicaragua has led other «Liberal» Latin American regimes to condemn it. Thus the United States cut off military and economic aid to Nicaragua and behind the veil of the organization of American States (OAS) entered into negotiations aimed at terminating the Somoza dictatorship.

Nevertheless, it is up to the people of Nicaragua to overthrow an oppressive dictatorship and to bring into power a government that is prepared to solve their political, cultural and economic problems. Their struggles against the Somoza dictatorship are part and parcel of the worldwide democratic, revolutionary process.

The Somozas have dominated Nicaraguan politics for four decades their inevitable destruction marks the end of era of classical Latin American dictators.

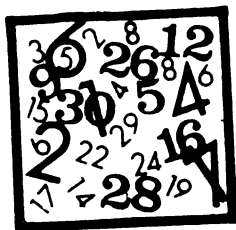
COMRADES;

DON'T MISS YOUR ENGLISH

ISSUE OF HALGAN EVERY

MONTH

MONTHLY BULLETIN

*Jaalle Ismail On Party Congress*

Vice-President and Assistant Secretary General of the Party Jaalle Brig. General Ismail Ali Abokor said on the eve of the Extraordinary SRSP Congress, that, preparations have been completed.

The Extra-ordinary Congress opened on 20th January as scheduled.

Speaking to reporters on the 18th January, the Vice-President Jaalle Ismail said that the preparations were started soon after the General Secretary Jaalle Siad disclosed that there would be an Extra-ordinary Congress of the Party in his nation-wide address on the 9th anniversary of the October Revolution and added that the Extra-ordinary Party Congress at the district and regional level have already been concluded.

He said that representatives to the Extra-ordinary Congress have been elected during the Regional level Party Congress in accordance with the SRSP statutes.

Jaalle Ismail, while answering a question on the agenda of the congress, said that the country has ente-

red new problems, since the foundation of the Party, which have led to the convening of this Party Congress, and added that since the Party shoulders a heavy responsibility as the vanguard of the nation's policies and stands to translate the people's aspirations into reality, it should outline the political strategy of the country.

«In accordance with the Party Constitution this strategy should be jointly formulated by the Party Membership since the rule of the Party is based on Democratic Centralism. It therefore became essential that an Extra-ordinary Congress be held to study the current situation of the country, lay out a clear strategy to follow in the future and search for solutions to our current problems» the Vice-President said.

Answering a question of a constitution and a parliament for the country, he said that they were included in the agenda of the Congress. He said that the constitution provides articles for the establishment of a parliament and detailed guidelines related to it and went on to say that «when the constitution is appro-

ved, the parliament will be established in accordance with the constitution.»

The Vice-President, while answering another question on rumours that some Party-members will be expelled from Party membership, said that it was normal to dismiss members and added this was not the concern of the Congress.

«The Party is an organization which can be joined by new members and left and by others in line with Party life and activities. How a new member is recruited and old member dismissed has been clarified in its constitution.

Party cells and Party Committees at the district and regional levels effect these activities», Jaalle Ismail stressed.

He noted that a Party member who violates the Party's discipline and fails to abide by its rules and attempts to frustrate or undermine its programmes is not an issue which has to wait for a Party Congress.

Such a member will be dealt with according to the Party's constitution.

Information Minister Briefs the Press

A delegation headed by the Minister of Information and National Guidance Jaalle Dr. Abdisalam Sheikh Hussein wound-up a fortnight tour to the Gulf States.

During his tour to Saudi Arabia, Qatar, the United Arab Emirates and Iraq, Jaalle Abdisalam held talks with his counterparts on ways of further strengthening cooperation in Information Service between Somalia and their respective countries.

While briefing the press, shortly after his return on 1st Jan. the Minister said his tour to the Gulf States was a complete success, and added that during the fortnight he toured those countries he was warmly received and that his talks with the officials he had met were crowned with full understanding.

He declared that the agreements reached with the countries he toured inclu-



ded the establishment of wide colour Television network reaching all parts of the country to be jointly implemented by Saudi Arabia, Qatar, and the United Arab Emirates. A survey team from the three countries will be sent to Somalia, the Minister said.

Jaalle Abdisalam also pointed out that the Iraqi Government made the commitment to set up black and white Television network limited to the capital city

of Mogadishu within the next six months.

An agreement on exchange of news, programmes, technical training and skills has been reached with Qatar information officials, the Minister said.

The Minister expressed his heartfelt thanks to the officials he met during his tour who, he said have shown the need to further strengthen cooperation in Information service among the Arab States.

Foreign Office Issues A Statement

A statement issued by a spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the SDR, on January 7, 1979, states:

The threats directed by the Ruler of Addis Ababa against the Somali Democratic Republic on the 2nd, January 1979, is yet a further manifestation of the provocative designs and impending plans of aggression against the peoples and

countries of the Horn of Africa in general and the SDR in particular.

The above threat was made by the Dergue Chairman Mengistu in a statement in which among other things, he said, «Other big powers are determined on our side to die our death and to do our struggle so far they have gone beyond giving us moral and material support and indeed many

have laid their lives we are sure to count on them to day.

This statement is not only a challenge to the African dignity, but openly contradicts to resolutions of the Organisation of African Unity rejecting foreign interventions, particularly super powers in the Africa's internal affairs. The arrogant words of Mengistu furthermore reveal to the

international community, that those powers who protect his puppet regime in Addis Ababa in its colonial rule over the people of Western Somalia, Abbo and Eritrea who are struggling for self-determination, have now given the green-light to Mengistu to unleash naked and full-scale war of aggression against the SDR in an attempt to turn the Liberation struggle into a confrontation between two states.

The recent continuous violations of the Somali air space to Cuban manned Ethiopian war planes conducting bombardment of towns and villages in the Somali Democratic Republic causing loss of lives and considerable damage of property are in the light of Mengistu's statement a prelude to a planned full-scale aggression against our country. In this connection, it is obvious for all to see, that Mengistu is "crying wolf" in order to mislead the international community by falsely and maliciously accusing Somalia of imaginary "aggression and nasion" which indeed, is an insult to the intelligence of the international community, who no doubt, realise that recent bombardments of Somali towns and civilian targets and the so-called "final warning" to Somalia are no accident.

Having claimed a temporary "gain" in certain cities of Eritrea, the puppet regime in Addis Ababa and its allies intend to embark upon an aggressive and senseless venture against the SDR hoping to divert the world public opinion from their continuous de-

feat at the hands of the Liberation movement. By so doing, Mengistu is serving his masters strategic designs in the region and also diverting the attention of the Ethiopian people from the massacre he had committed against them in the name of "Red Terror", from the famine which is taking its toll and the miserable neglect and disaster which has befallen them. Even the assistance given to the famine stricken people of Ethiopia by the international organizations and charitable bodies, are being used for war logistics.

The Government of the Somali Democratic Republic has on many occasions communicated to the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity and also informed the international community at large, of the violations of its space by Ethiopian war planes and their bombardments of Somalia cities and villages causing death and destruction.

The SDR view that this hostile and threatening unholy preparations are all intended to take the situation beyond our control.

It must be made known

to the international community that this renewed declaration of intent to commit war of aggression emanating from the colonial administration of Addis Ababa clearly indicates Mengistu's puppet regime is acting on behalf of certain super powers whose hegemonic designs and strategic interests are far beyond the region of the Horn of Africa.

In the event that such grave development, materializes, the Somali government is duty bound to take all the necessary measures to ensure the sanctity of its sovereignty and of its people and country against any aggression from any quarters.

In conclusion, the Somali Government takes serious view of Mengistu's statement and strongly warns that Ethiopia and those who are instigating her to wage a war against the SDR will be held responsible for the consequences of their actions which can only precipitate a catastrophic end of unknown dimensions in the region. Mengistu should know that to invade the Somali Democratic Republic will not be a journey of happiness and will be doomed to failure.

OSCM'S First Anniversary Marked

A ceremony was held at the National Theatre on Jan. 9 to mark the first anniversary of the foundation of the Organisation of Somali Co-operative Movement (OSCM).

The Party General Secretary and President of the SDR, Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre speaking on the occasion emphasized that

the OSCM was established to safeguard the interests of the Somali society, particularly the working force which the co-operative members form an important section. He stressed that development was possible only through co-operation, unity and hard work and added that advanced countries attained their Develop-

ment through the same process.

Jaalle Siad pointed out that the Somali people should be more active and co-operative in order to develop the country's economy, «we should» the President said, «discard the notion of I and speak of we if we are to attain our developmental that we should demonstrate patience, persistence, bravery and honesty in all goals». He went on to say our activities and do away with prejudice, jealousy and lies. He said that the true, patriotic and revolutionary Somali should distinguish between the interests of his people and those of its enemies.

It is the responsibility of the Somali Co-operatives, he stressed, to produce the nation's requirements of all imported goods which are paid for with hard earned foreign currencies. The Party General Secretary called on the co-operatives to fulfil their national obligations with diligence and



vigour and further double their activities towards this goal.

While speaking on the duties of the SRSP and its activities, Jaalle Siad noted that the Party has to orient, Organize, and lead the masses towards progress and prosperity.

The President took the occasion to award honorary certificates to several Co-operatives in the coun-

try and members of the OSCM.

The OSCM, founded a year ago, consists of 337 co-operatives with a global membership of 35,581.

In commemoration of the first anniversary of the OSCM, wreaths of flowers were laid at the monuments of the city by the Chairman of the OSCM Jaalle Warsame Abdullahi Ali and the regional Party Secretary Jaalle Warsame Ali Farah.

The Budget for 1979

According to an announcement released by the Ministry of Finance the 1979 budget amount to 2,127,997,392 Somali Shillings by 350,145,925 Somali Shilling which means an increase of 20% (Twenty percent). The meeting held on 21st December 1978.

The budget is divided into the following parts:-

1. The Central Government
2. The Local Government
3. The Autonomous Agencies

In an interview on January

with Newsmen the Director of the Budget Department said that the 1979 budget exceeded the 1978 budget which as 1,777,851,468 Somali Shillings by 350,145,925 Somali Shilling which means an increase of 20% (Twenty Percent).

The Director added that the amount of the budget allocated to the 1979 development programmes is 461,680,677 Somali Shillings while that of 1978 was 263,996,400 Somali Shillings, which in an increase of 197,684,267 Somali Shillings on equivalent of 74% increase

The Director Jaalle Abas Yasin Ahmed, also added that, among the establishments given priority in the budget are agriculture with an allocation of 61,787,67 Somali Shillings, animal Husbandry 47,227,870 Somali Shillings and the industries, 39, 744,600 Somali Shillings.

The Director also noted that in this year a priority has been given to fisheries which is a major factor contributing to our economic development, the amount allocated to being 27,070,000 Somali Shillings.

Agreement Reached

The Somali Democratic Republic and Federal Republic of Germany signed an agreement on aviation at Uruba Hotel in Mogadishu on January 6.

On the Somali side, the agreement was signed by the Director of Aviation Department of the Ministry of Transport, Air and Land Jaalle Aden Bile Jama and on the part of the Federal Republic of Germany by the Director of Aviation Laws Department of the Ministry of Transport Dr. Walter Schmenk. The agreement which will become effective early February this year follows talks between the two sides from the 2nd to the 6th of January.

Present on the occasion were the President of the Somali Airlines Jaalle Abdul

lahi Ahmed Shire, advisor to the Director of the Aviation Department, Jaalle Ahmed Dahir Shikh and Mr. Helmit Schol and Dr. Frits Schmits representatives of the Lufthansa Airlines.

Meanwhile, the Somali Democratic Republic and United Nations Development programme signed on Jan. 10, an agreement on Range projects at Juba Hotel in Mogadishu.

The Range projects which cover all the regions of the country has an estimated expenditure of 15 Million Dollars.

It was signed on Somalia's behalf by the Chairman of the National Planning Commission Jaalle Ahmed Habib Ahmed while for the UNDP it was signed by the Presi-

dent representative in Somalia.

On 4th January, the Chairman of the National Planning Commission Jaalle Ahmed Habib Ahmed accepted 2000 tons of cement from the Ambassador of the United Kingdom to Somalia, Mr. A. H. Brind.

This was the first consignment of a 10.000 ton cement donation extended by Britain to the SDR. This assistance which follows an agreement signed between the two governments in May last year includes the construction of 30 residential houses for the technical staff of the Juba Valley Sugar Projects in Jilib, fishing equipment for the Fisheries Resettled communes and ranges and forests survey equipment at a cost of 2 Million pound sterling.

H A L G A N

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CULTURE AND ART



Further Development of Art

By, Rashid Sh. Abdullahi

The Somali art had passed through different stages, and nowadays we observe many different, art groups in the country. It is worth mentioning that not many of these groups were in existence before 21st October Revolution of 1969.

Though their development is at different levels all groups are involved in different branches of art. It is true that the work and efficiency of art groups are determined by their size and their economic base.

With the exception of Wa-beri group, the oldest, other groups are more or less the same, though their production differs.

Recently, our art underwent some sort of transformation and experience shows us that at this stage our art needs to be armed with knowledge and expertise. It is necessary to upgrade certain parts of the art that lag behind in order to create a balance and equilibrium among different parts of the art, and to create at the same time work opportunities in its different parts.

Though at present the number of art groups exceeds seven (those are on the national level and officially recognised), yet there is no relationship, neither horizontal nor vertical, among the groups.

This lack of relationship among art groups is the main set-back that hinders the transformation and development of our art.

It is an indisputable fact that many weak points that our art suffers from would have been eliminated if there were fruitful ties and better coordination among art groups who are now characterised by separate pursuance of artistic work operating thereby in conditions of isolation. Members of art groups like artistic creators, composers, musicians, singers, actors and folklore players are more than 400 persons. Among the 400 very few have attended art schools. And there is no doubt that many of them would have improved their artistic efficiency and would have left a rich legacy of art for the coming artists if they had attended art schools. Groups who underwent training in art (most of them are musicians) are very few; or the training courses are limited in number not exceeding two or three.

It is too difficult for a group to organise a comprehensive training programme, on the other hand the organisation of such a programme would have been easy had there been a relationship among different art groups.

The old proverb says «Teeth could grind only when they

are together». And our art groups could surmount many difficulties facing our art only if they had strong ties and relationships among themselves.

Experience shows us that our artistes are badly in need of an art school that will make a great transformation in our art.

Till today most of our art is not recorded in writing. The main component parts are plays, songs and poems that after presentation to the public are at best recorded in a tape. This system of storing does not guarantee a long lasting preservation of art works. Moreover, our art works that have been displayed to the world public are only one or two folklore bits.

The causes of the difficulties facing Somali art are many but the main one is lack of knowledge (academic knowledge) of the artists. Therefore, it is a matter of necessity to create an organisation that will integrate the efforts of all art groups. This organisation will be responsible for the following.

- To perform and present for the public theatrical works and the functions of other art branches generally.
- To improve the artistic skills.

Cont. to Page 32

THEORETICAL ISSUES



Present Day Theories of the Transformation of Capitalism

by, BAYR

The universal practical experiences of man and the whole course of social development testify to us that the world we live in is continuously undergoing substantive and structural change. In other words change is the natural and inevitable order in all spheres concerning nature, man and his thought system. Correspondingly, since change is endemic in the physical world, that is the reality outside us, our thought processes, and the conceptual framework which expresses and explains it ought to continuously change. Only the world outlook that objectively and Scientifically compasses an open and non-dogmatic attitude to life is equipped with the capacity of laying down a theoretical basis beneficially guiding our practical activities. Be that as it may, a scientific world outlook is not a given thing, which at one moment is provided us, only through a painful, and discriminating process of approximating our ideas to truth, of shifting fact from illusions, and applying this into social life enables us to lay the foundations for a true theory of knowledge, which coming generations contribute and elevate it to higher summits.

In the search for truth one has to wage relentless war against false theories which come up in all kinds of scientific garbs, and this battle of hearts is the order of the

day in the world we live in.

All theories, on whatever sphere they deal with, in the final analysis, express and consolidate the interest of one class, social group or an opposing class or social group. There is no system, particularly in the social arena which is value free, non-partisan or neutral. In one or another sometimes, in a hidden or concealed manner, the propositions, ideas and categories used by a particular philosopher, social scientist justify and prop up this or that class, who at that juncture of time happen to be contending classes. Let us amplify on this by taking as a case study the strongly entrenched bourgeois theories which today lay claim that capitalism has been transformed and is no longer what it has been known to be.

THE GENESIS OF THESE THEORIES

Ever since the bourgeois order and its capitalist system felt threatened, chiefly due to the intensifying struggle of the working class, and generally because capitalism lost its progressive essence, once socialism came into the world arena, bourgeois ideologies have been masterminding theories to defend obsolete system. At first it was the vulgar theories of Alfred Marshall, John Bates Clarke, Kerry and Malthus that gained currency and were heavily drawn upon. Such propositions as the three factors of production (that is Land, capital and labour) equ-

ally contributing to social wealth, and correspondingly sharing it according to the magnitude of their contribution, were put up as adequate criterion to explain the internal nature of the system, but failing in this bourgeois theoreticians had no option but to come up with theories on eternal changeable human nature to, for a good measure, consolidate the pillars for a system which alone can synchronise with the nature of man. Malthus not satisfied with this, bandied about his theory of over population, i.e. the geometric progression of man's numbers, whereas food production is only arithmetical. The dogmatic and unscientific views of Malthus heighten the human predicament. The logical consequence of his ideas are such that we can only be saved first by war, pestilence, and secondly birth-control, etc. Vulgar bourgeois political economy was not confined to the ideas briefly above surveyed, but used all kinds of sub-theories and categories to hammer home the point that man has to content himself with an eternal existence under the capitalist order. This is vitally an important point since it underscores the similarity of all bourgeois theories: Old and new since their point of departure is the unquestionable allegiance to their system, and accordingly they marshal facts, figures, and propositions to substantiate and defend it. They do not care a damn if

their propositions fly in the face of reality and of course.

PRESENT DAY BOURGEOIS THEORIES OF «THE TRANSFORMATION OF CAPITALISM»

The untenable nature of classical vulgar political economy, its incapacity to answer today's practical problems of the dynamic evolution of capitalism has led to the need to furnish new theoretical pillars for the state monopolistic stage which capitalism has attained. The Keynesian theory of state intervention and its regulation of the economy, the integration of both private and multinational corporate property with that of the state and the emphasis to raise effective demand, to doctor capitalism back to life and finally to bring to an end the series chain of Capitalist crises where downswings alternated with upswings, and boom with depression. The years of construction in the aftermath of the 2nd world war momentarily and deceptively showed a rejuvenation of the system and a dilution of the class contradictions thanks to the relative upswing of the economy, and impressed on some bourgeois academicians that capitalism has at last stabilised itself, and the chances of its demise have imperceptibly vanished. It is at this time that the theories of capitalist transformation were strongly advocated and given scholarly respectability.

The rationale of these theories hinges on a supposed capitalist revolution, which has already taken place or is in progress, and as its proponents argue this revolution has brought essential changes in the very nature of capitalism. Such terms as people's Capitalism, the welfare state, the affluent society are put forward. A criticism of such concepts

will appear in our concluding remarks, suffice to state these concepts symbolise new ways and methods by which the system is whitewashed and beautified. It is more fruitful to now deal with the larger concepts on which the supposed transformation of capitalism are pinned on. Such theories are: The myth of the «Democratisation of Capital», the myth of the «Managerial Revolution», and the theory of convergence. Now we will separately deal with each.

1. THE MYTH OF THE DEMOCRATISATION OF CAPITAL. Some American, German and other European economists, of whom the American A.A. Berle is a distinguished figure advance that private ownership of the means of production has disappeared in capitalist societies. They attribute this to the fact that since share ownership in joint stock companies can easily be bought by any member of society we cannot then speak of private property, but of democratisation of capital as all are equal to its ownership. That this argument is both facile and spurious is apparent to the intelligent and critical mind. The point is that in Capitalist societies people are not equal in the ownership of the means of production (factories, banks, wholesale trade, land, etc), and it is here that the main inequality is born. Income differentials and special privilege are mainly entrenched by this, and no one can ignore it. How can an American worker who get just under 10,000 dollars a year be equated to the Rockfellers, Dupont's and Fords who own properties totalling over billions of dollars? If that worker succeeds to buy one or two shares in a given joint stock company, and his thousand shares in that same Company, could they be equal

in their voting rights, and is there democratisation of capital here? Thus economists like A.A. Berle completely ignore the quantity and value aspects of property shares. Progressive American economists have estimated that over 70% of the shares by value are in the hands of those receiving large incomes (Capitalists, Landowners, and the like).

The Critical-minded American sociologist (C. Wright Mills) rightly noted in his book the «Power Elite» that the Idea of diffusion of ownership, «Through the sale of shares was a cultivated illusion» and at the very most 0.2 or 0.3 percent of the adult population own the bulk, the payoff shares, of the corporate world. Similar conclusions were reached by the British Sociologist T.S. Bottomore regarding the British society. In respect of the profit sharing system lately employed by a number of Western Capitalist countries, and pioneered by the Federal Republic of Germany, there is no doubt that the diffusion of property, and the dispersal in ownership is highly minimal: The fact, which needs underlining, is working class, with relatively low incomes are incapable of saving large funds to allocate to share buying. Accordingly, characteristically in Capitalist societies we notice greater centralisation of capital in fewer hands. It is thus a delusion to anticipate a democratisation of capital in the exploitative system of capitalism, and practice so far has consolidated this conclusion.

2. THE MYTH OF THE MANAGERIAL REVOLUTION: This theory finds strong advocacy in James Burnham who in his book the Managerial Revolution predicted that, «a period of social

transition to a type of society called the managerial revolution». He talked of economic democracy and the influence of «Public opinion» on the behaviour of managers. The tenor of his arguments is to prove that capitalists have been derived of their right to control the economy, since allegedly control has been transferred to the hands of hired managers. J. K. Galbouth stand, in his book the New Industrial state posited his theory of techno-structure whereby a complex set of managers control the economy. This techno-structure has five circles, whose centre is occupied by the hired managers-president, Vice.Presidents, followed by regional chiefs, then the professionals or people with specialised knowledge (Scientists, Lawyers, advertising men, and then White-collar workers, and lastly the blue collar workers. Each circle has his own specific function, but the inner circle lead in the collective power which the techno-structure implies. However, ownership lies outside the structure. Surprisingly, bourgeois economists derive their authority from K. Marx who in his third Volume of Capital predicted a possible separation of ownership and management.

A critique of this theory draws on the confusion of bourgeois theoreticians between the form of management and that of ownership. But the logic and character of an enterprise is determined by the form of ownership, and not by the management, and that is the point which precisely has to be borne in mind. Ford management may well be in the hands of hired managers, and there may well be over 2 Million shareholders, but in the final analysis it is Henry Ford II, and a small Coterie of

his family associates and friends who own it and decide the crucial issues touching the fates of so many.

Furthermore, bourgeois economists who advocate this theory ignore the issue of which class the managers belong to. At the lower rungs of management happen to belong to the intelligentsia, who basically are salaried workers. Normally, they do not participate in the company's policies of decision making and profit distribution. As far as the big bourgeoisie are concerned they are part and parcel of the big monopolistic bourgeoisie, i.e they happen to own large or medium sized block of shares, or by virtue of their position in production they partake in the companies profits, thus their interests become intimately interwoven with those of the big bourgeoisie whom they serve. All in all the theory does not correspond with reality but is masked way of laying great emphasis on a fact which is increasingly becoming manifest, i.e the distinction between capital in its functioning form, and its property form. However, they misinterpret this, and accordingly derive wrong conclusions which, of course, are meant to find new justifications for a system which is fast losing respectability in the eyes of the wider public. J.K. Galbraith a strong advocate of the theory in one of his last books expresses certain doubts on the very theory he has championed, and more importantly on the state of the capitalist system. Anthony Sampson, a British social scientist who in the 1950s was predicting the erosion of class differences in the British society, had no other option but to honestly declare that class differences were rampant in

his society in the 1970s, and sorrowfully for his society the gap was getting wider, i.e greater iniquity now than before.

CONVERGENCE THEORY : A third bourgeois economic theory which is being pushed forward is the theory of convergence. The theory derives its justification from certain common features which are to be found in both capitalism and socialism, such as large scale production which is engendered by the scientific and technological revolution. The further socialisation of production in capitalism is seized upon by bourgeois theoreticians to draw similarities between capitalism and socialism, in all material and super-structural fields. D. Snider J.K. Galbraith, Francois Perroux, Pitirim Sorokin and others are the proponents of the theory of convergence. Underlying their propounding of the theory of convergence is the belief that the more the pace of industrialisation intensifies the greater becomes the similarities between the two systems which initially started from opposite ideological poles. D. Snider argues that the capitalist system more and more departs from its emphasis on laissez-faire market economy, while socialism realises the limitations of centralised authoritarianism.

J.K. Galbraith discovers the seeds of convergence «in the development of a similar technological basis, which is found in the growth of large scale production, the development of technology the retention of autonomous agencies, state regulation of aggregate demand, and the training of specialists». His conclusion is that convergence between the two systems occurs at all fundamental points. The A-

merican sociologist Sorokin, formerly a Russian emigre who left the Soviet Union, and in a way regarded as the father figures of the convergence theory gives factors operating in the natural, technical, social sciences, law, education, art, religion, marriage and the family, economic system, social relations, and political system to substantiate his arguments hinging on the mutual convergence of the two systems all across the board. He accordingly states that an intermediate society, differing from both puritanical, communism and capitalism, has come into the historical stage. Other bourgeois proponents of this theory refer to the practice of greater planning, equalisation of incomes, revolution of ownership under capitalism to prove how close it has travelled to the ideas once propounded by socialism.

The fundamental flaw of this system is its attraction to the formal approach and worship to be taken in by superficial features between the two

systems. The theory disregards the basic distinctions between social socialist ownership and private capitalist ownership. The social purpose to which social production is directed is always a distinguishing factor inasmuch as in the case of capitalism the motive force remains to be the maximisation of profit while in the case of socialism it is the safeguarding of social needs. Accordingly neither the development of technology, or common features in the forms of organisation and management of production does eliminate the fundamental differences, inasmuch as the basic distinction hinges on the system of social relations. As a vivid example under capitalism increased automation, as is attested to by the recent examples of the times magazine in the U. K, results in greater unemployment, while under socialism it leads to a lightening of physical burden and better social services. Fortunately, under the all spices of bourgeois admission that the

theory of convergence is an illustrative example that socialism is ultimately the better and governing creed to the extent that socialism since it emphasises social character of production, is a better system satisfying human needs at the historical period in which humanity finds itself in.

CONCLUSION:- The capitalist system has found itself on the defensive. Neither Keynesian economic philosophy, or even in its neo-keynsian advocacy of economic growth could salvage it. The return to the classical model, or its admixture in the form of Samuelson's harmonic blinding could save a system which is condemned to death. The theories of the transformation of capitalism are theories based on the transitional safeguard of a system which humanity can no longer tolerate. Capitalism as system is bedevilled and beset by contradictions hinging on the rising star of socialism and the crumbling of the colonial system and this is a tide that cannot be overcome.

FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF ART

Cont. from page 28

- To encourage Somali people and groups engaged in art works in Somalia and abroad.
- To store and preserve in a good method theatrical works.
- To use art functions for educational purposes and for the development of the country.
- To see that different art

groups exchange their experiences.

These objectives and others could materialise if a viable relationship was established among different art groups existing in the country today.

And it is beyond doubt that there would have been a better change in the living conditions of individuals who are engaged in art works in Somalia.

BOOKS AND DOCUMENTS



Problems of Socialist Orientation

PART 2

BY BAYR

In our second review of the book «On Problems of Socialist Orientation», Pravis Khalatbari's article is a milestone that has to be compulsarily covered. This is due to the fact that it is one of the best three articles that appears in the book. Khalatbari addresses himself to an important sphere regarding the future of socialist developments in Africa. One can never discount the relevance of this article, as increasingly its meaning will, sink into the hearts and minds of African intellectuals, who evince an inclination to socialist progressive trend. As a thoroughgoing marxist, comrade Khalatbari tries to work out a model to which third countries are subject, and as a marxist he reaches the relativity of this process, thus he states that, «That these models are abstract pictures of reality which do not show all aspects. They present a reality from a quite a definite and essential perspective. Comrade Khalatbari thus, uses economic models, knowing full well their limitations. For him there are economic processes which are law governed and which essentially cannot be superseded.

Comrade Khalatbari realises the complexity of finding a model which offers a uniform solution to all problems of third world economies. Thus as an objective and dialectically oriented intellectual he addresses himself to a simple model, which harmonically meets the

requirements of the multidimensional economic reality prevailing in the third world, particularly Africa.

Khalatbari accordingly brings before us the true nature of African economies, which in their essential properties are dualistic, ie, capitalist and pre-capitalist relations deducible from the essential nature

C

E P
KE (Commodity

SO

E = harvest

«C» = advance capital

Ke = effective consumption of producers.

So = economic surplus (as rule a rent of products).

Comrade Khalatbari confines himself to one aspect of marxist analysis of the reproduction process, ie the simple reproduction which of course logically and dialectically leads to the next stage, ie extended reproduction. The contradictorily developing economies, ought to naturally be found in the more developed economies. All the same the virtue of Khalatbari's economic analysis is that he shows the essential dictions to be found in capitalist contradictions that best third world economies, while those of a developed capitalist economy is unitary, and a socialist

of such economies is that a stagnating and dynamic systems exist next to each other. For him truthfully agriculture, or in terms of our country both agriculture and livestock are stagnating sectors. Essentially, this stands for simple reproduction of commodities, a process which can best be illustrated as follows:

C

E P E
KE

SO

economy is far more unitary and harmonic, third world economies are characterised by a duality whose bridge cannot be crossed, ie the stagnating or traditional sector remain outside, and non-symbiotic with the capitalistically developed modern sector, which in thousand and one way is connected to the international capitalist market.

Comrade Khalatbari from a marxist perspective tries to connect the marxian departments I and II, but then he comes across that the relationship between the two is not as unitary as it is in industrialist countries, ie in third world countries due to the relationship between the metropole and periphery, the metropole or foreign trade is more dominating. Comrade Khalatbari goes into certain essential

weaknesses of an economy which is sub-divided into the stagnating and dynamic. He shows that the surplus produced by third world economies is one which does not take us much further into economic development, i.e. such an economy subdivides into:

I) Raw materials for services.

II) Foodstuffs for the working people.

III) Surplus for export for the sake of importation, this is the part where the newly rich African bourgeoisie tries to catch up with its counterparts. Instead of the accumulation of capital which is needed the third world bourgeoisie spend so much on goods which are not for the benefits of the people. In the agricultural or nomadic circle, as is the case with us, redistribution which along with production is an essential factor for development takes on a role of retarding economic growth rather than encouraging it. Comrade Khalatbari goes exhaustively to discuss and analyse the factors that inevitably contribute to this.

Peter Mandi, from Hungary discusses an important topic with the title, «The Non-capitalist Path and the New Economic Order». The non-capitalist path, of course, is the socialist orientation that we are addressing ourselves to, but as regards the new economic order, it is a concept which third world countries have introduced for the sake of combatting the ini-

qualities existing in the real world that we live in, and of course this is engendered by the exploitative system of capitalism, to which Africa is subjected. The new economic order belongs to the second phase of liberation, i.e. the disillusionment with flag independence, resulting as it did in the neo-colonialist domination, has resulted in an atmosphere of fighting for economic independence, which partly is met by the economic order. Obviously, the new economic order does not all-roundedly meet our requirements to attain full economic independence, but it goes some way to meet the democratic demands of the people.

As behoves or befits him Comrade Peter Bandi goes into the progressive and middle of road strands of the call for new economic order. As he sees it, and this is absolutely true, some of the advocates remain within the framework of Capitalism, thus showing how limited the economic order is, i.e. interpret it in terms satisfactory to the internal bourgeoisie, who want to rid themselves of expatriate capital, but who want to retain the exploitative social relations which essentially is engendered by capitalism. Others, and this includes the marxist-leninist elements and along with them the democratic forces, who are a strong contingent of the progressive currents, went to overstep the new economic order, and think of realising an independent economic order, free of both foreign and local exploitation which

accordingly, and (necessarily) takes a socialist orientation.

Comrade Peter Mandi from his analysis derives certain conclusions which lead him to state the non-capitalist countries Vis-a-Vis the world economy are more stringent than, and in fact, quantitatively different from, the demands of those who tend to the capitalist order.

CONCLUSION: There are extremely important points deserving regard to be found in most of the article, particularly in the articles of Parviz Khalatbari, Tozef Nowicki and Peter Mandi are relevant as critical material on socialist orientation. However, the papers suffer some fundamental weakness amongst which the seeming brushing of the efficiency of socialist orientation is a notable feature. Somehow in their articles there are the seeds of an ultra leftist stand which lays too much emphasis on the shortcomings of socialist orientation, rather than seeing its essential positive contributions. Of course innovative and novel contributions to the practical courses that social development has to take place comes up against immense concrete problems. Instead of dwelling too much on the drawbacks of socialist orientation we have to discover the essential and inevitable law governed orientation that this new development process heralds.

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* The Extra-ordinary Congress of the SRSP:
Resolutions

* Closing Speech of the General Secretary
at the Extra-ordinary Congress of the SRSP.

Struggle to
learn, in order to
learn to
struggle better

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The Extra-ordinary Congress of the SRSP

When we speak of a party that leads a country we usually mean a party which has a policy expressly stipulated in its programme and which also has a vision and insight that enables it to guide political, economic and social development of the country. Such a programme is usually accepted and supported by the majority of the people. Thus that programme is not an inspiration from god but it is derived from the experience life and from the economic relations of the people, their political thoughts, the nature and culture existing in the area: the historical experience man bequeathed to societies and the general relationship among the world masses that created different social principles.

It is always very important that the party programme should convince party members, and in general to satisfy the society. To realise that priority should be given to the correct implementation of the promises and directives mentioned in the programme which have many sided effects upon the society.

The party and the government leadership that execute the policy of the party must make great efforts and bear special responsibility to realise that the sincere promises presented and accepted in the programme are not postponed but fulfilled.

It is always necessary that the leading institutions follow-up the consciousness of party members and the masses, and to consider their ideas and criticism. The best place and time to assess such feeling are regular discussions and seminars held at party centres and workers clubs. These places have political value also given that party conferences, the highest of which is the party general congress are held from time to time.

Therefore, the SRSP, as one of the parties who has such characteristics, has decided to hold a general congress once in every five years, so as to evaluate what has been implemented, what could not and how the people perceive the functioning of the party leadership. But, because of the specific conditions our country is passing through, it became apparent for the party leadership that it was necessary to hold a special an extra-ordinary general congress to study thoroughly the conditions of the country, and to give an opportunity to every party member while transmitting the feeling on of the masses) to express his opinion on the items on the agenda, and to give advice about the policy and future of the country.

To realise this, the party leadership requested party

committees in the Regions and Districts to organize conferences for all party members to discuss in detail the present condition of the country, and to give special attention to the programme and the regulations of the party in order to suggest any amendments changes if necessary.

Fortunately, it was possible to carry out such a difficult task. discussions were handled in a direct way with honesty, sincerity and self-confidence. The decisions agreed upon at the district and regional conferences were taken by the elected representatives who participated in the general extra-ordinary congress held at the central headquartes in Mogadishu. Such an undertaking was facilitated by the political consciousness of the masses specially that of party members which is at a higher level. And it is worth mentioning here that, since its inception the Revolution has been fostering and developing such consciousness.

The effort of the Revolution to enlighten and train the political thought of the people has been aimed at combatting two dangerous problems that are easily encountered within the states of the third world:

- 1) Anarchy and confusion where everybody acts as he wishes.
- 2) Autocracy and dictatorship which does not fulfil aspirations of the people.

When we have a look at how discussions were conducted and the fruitful outcome which resulted from them we can say that the extra-ordinary general congress held in Mogadishu presented successful test of the political maturity our people have reached and the democratic methods adhered to by the leaders in respecting the decisions of the congress.

Our next responsibility is to study the decisions and their political connotations and to start to implement them seriously.

Following the congress, a conference for revolutionization of National Administration was held. The participants of the timely conference were the heads of the administration and other high ranking officials from different institutions of the government and party. The terms of reference for the conference was how to implement quickly and in a correct way the decisions of the party especially those concerning the fostering of production, maintenance of equipments, improved system of services, and the implementation of the Three Year National Plan. And if all these matters are carried out, as they were discussed and promised in the conference, then there is no doubt that the many-sided and fruitful national development efforts would be successful.

REPORT OF THE PROCEEDING OF THE CONGRESS



The first Extra-ordinary congress of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party was held in Mogadishu on 20-25th January 1979.

The decision on convening this congress was made by the Central Committee of the SRSP.

Due to the experiences gained within the span of two years and more of the Party existence as well as the difficulties encountered, the Central Committee deemed it indispensable to hold the Extra-ordinary Congress of the Party in order to enlarge its activities and to correct its shortcomings.

The Secretary General of SRSP, President of SDR, Comrade Mohamed Siad Barre, in his speech on 21st October,

1978, announced that an Extra-ordinary Congress will be held.

Consequently, arrangements and preparations were made for the above Congress. Thus Extra-ordinary Party Congresses were held throughout the SDR on District and Regional level.

These Congresses were organized in a democratic atmosphere and Party members in the District & Regional level, have shown extra activity and political consciousness of high calibre.

Decisions and recommendations were submitted from every region to the extra ordinary party congress and representatives from all regions we-

re sent to the capital city to participate in the Congress.

On 20th January at 5. p. m. the First extra-ordinary congress was opened by President Mohamed Siad Barre.

At the beginning, a brief speech was delivered by Jaalle Ismail Ali Abokor the Assistant Secretary General of SRSP who gave an information about participation in the congress and the steps preceded for its preparations.

He also pointed out the objectives of the extra-ordinary Congress. The First extra ordinary congress was officially opened by the Secretary General of SRSP Comrade Mohamed Siad Barre who was elected as the Chairman of the congress, and delivered a very valuable speech. In that long speech, the Secretary General has explained in detail the internal and external policy of the Revolution. Speaking on the internal policy, comrade Siad pointed out the causes that created the 21st October Revolution and the great changes it has brought about on all the aspects of social life, and the aspirations we are looking forward today while the vanguard of the nation is a party of a new type.

On the Second day of the Congress an excellent report was presented by the Minister of Defence LT/General Comrade Mohamed Ali Samatar who gave informations on the defence policies of SDR.

The first Extraordinary Congress lasted for 4 days; working continuously from morning till evening. During that period the congress has heard reports presented by the representatives from the Regions of the Country. Regional representatives gave an information about the general situation of the region, the level of party activities, the shortcomings raised by party members in the Region and their recommendations to remedy such shortcomings.

There were also speeches delivered by the social organisations: General Federation of Trade Unions, Somali Revolutionary Youth Union, Somali Women Democratic Organisation and the Union of Somali Cooperative Movement.

Representatives of the social organisations explained functions and the General policy of their respective organisations and expressed their strong support for the party and for the extra ordinary Congress.

Representatives from Somali Liberation Movements who were honourable guests of the Congress also expressed their views mixed with approval and gratitude. They have thanked their brothers in Somali Democratic Republic, Party, Government, and the people, for the material and moral support which they offer them continuously in order to get rid of the yoke of colonialism. The representatives of the liberation fronts were welcomed by the participants of the Congress with a continuous acclamation and warm enthusiasm showing them the extent of their support for the just cause that their brothers are fighting for.

On the Second day, the Par-

ty Congress has elected five committee responsible for drafting on political, social, the new constitution, economic, planning and the study of the programme and the regulation, of the party, On the third day the above committees presented to the Congress proposals. Later these proposals were accepted by the Congress.

The first extra-ordinary congress of SRSP approved the three years National Plan Project for 1979-81, and the new constitution of the Country.

Further, the Congress reviewed the programme of SRSP which has been approved by the founding congress of the party. The congress realized that the party programme expresses the true aspirations of the Somali people, and reflects the ideology of scientific socialism.

The Congress has also acknowledged shortcomings which were not due to the party programme, but lack of the realization of it. The congress pointed out the following points:

a) Lack of sufficient experience and knowledge of some party members of the true essence of the Party Programme.

b) Certain Government institutions responsible for the fulfilment of the major parts of the programme did not perform their duties adequately and,

c) Due to difficult circumstances the party was not in a position to play its required role of control and supervision.

To overcome these shortcomings the Congress has approved useful decisions.

Furthermore, the Extra-ordi-

nary Congress of SRSP revealed the high level of political maturity demonstrated by the Party members participating in the Congress and the patriotic feeling displayed by them.

During the speeches presented at the Congress sessions there were interruptions of slogans and moving songs by which the representatives expressed their stand on the issues raised in the speeches, this has added a continuous interest and liveliness to the general atmosphere of the congress.

Speaking of the General atmosphere of the congress, it is worth of mention and praise the role played by the flower of the October Revolution. Usually, when congresses are held they entertain them with revolutionary songs of patriotic flavour and display flowers with different colours that added a magnificent beauty to the congress hall.

Similar roles were also played by artist groups on the national level, among them are: Waaberi, Heegan, Iftiin, Onkod and the artist Cooperatives of Banaadir.

Apart from the amusing songs, each artist group has invited the participants of the Congress to see a play performed for the occasion.

The first extra-ordinary congress of Somali Revolutionary socialist party could be described correctly as a historical event which gave a great value for the march of the revolution of 21 October 1969. The congress closed on 25th of January with a remarkable closing speech delivered by the Secretary General of SRSP, the President of SDR Comrade Mohamed Siad Barre.

OPENING SPEECH OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE SRSP AT THE EXTRA-ORDINARY CONGRESS



JAALLAYAAL,

Two Years and Seven months have passed since the founding Congress of our Party. It is a relatively short period. But when we look back at the events that has taken place since then, affecting both our internal development and external policy, it can indeed be considered a long period. It is for this reason that we have found essential to call for this Extra-ordinary Congress so that we may discuss, debate and further clarify the path along which the Party is lea-

ding the country.

I am indeed glad that this has become possible, that we are here together at the national level after debating at the district and regional levels. While I am sure that you will reach your well-deliberate decisions, allow me to say few words about our general policy, both internal and external, and the present circumstance and difficulties facing the Revolution.

INTERNAL POLICY

The independence struggle, waged by the Somali people for a long time, culminated

in the gaining of independence by two Regions on 26th June and 1st July, respectively and their subsequent union in the Somali Republic.

The aspiration of the Somali People has always been to equitably share the fruits independence and to overcome the been colonial legacy of political, economic and social backwardness. Unfortunately, the leadership of the young Republic did not have a long-range programme that looked beyond independence, and thus have failed to realize the people's aspirations. Instead of creating a united society, sharing justice and equality and struggling to overcome the squalid life, they have followed a thwarted policy whose consequences we all remember: nepotism, corruption, bribery, tribalism, robbery and murder.

When the situation reached such a critical point the Armed Forces, true to the vow they have taken in defence of the independence and unity of their people and country, seriously aware of the feelings and grievances of the workers, intellectuals and the Somali masses, embarked on the Revolution of October 21, 1969.

Despite the misguided leadership and the distorted system the people's sense of nationalism and enthusiasm for a better life did not abate. No

wonder then that they, expressing their grievances and anger at the prevailing conditions, enthusiastically came out to support the programme of the new Revolution. The section of this programme relevant to the internal situation was as follows:

1. To constitute a society based on the right of work and on the principle of social justice considering the environment and social life of the Somali people.

2. To prepare and orientate the development of an economic, social and cultural programme to reach a rapid progress of the country.

3. To liquidate illiteracy and to develop an enlightened patrimonial and cultural heritage of the Somali people.

4. To constitute, with appropriate and adequate measures the basic development of the writing of the Somali Language.

5. To liquidate all kinds of corruption, all forms of anarchy, the malicious system of tribalism in every form, and every phenomena of bad customs in state activities.

6. To abolish all political parties; and

7. To conduct at appropriate time free and impartial election.

The Revolution, basing itself on the historical experience of our country and the heritage of human knowledge, realized that scientific socialism is the only road whereby these aspirations could be fulfilled. This was manifestly declared in the second Charter of the Revolution.

The serious endeavour and the continuous measures taken by the Revolution in order to implement its programme are clear to all and require no repetition. We may, however, just mention a few.

In the first place the Revolution dealt with a strong hand the chaos and tribal confusion which used to breed envoy robbery and murder. The evil custom of «Blood Money» (i.e. compensation for a person killed from a clan) has been abolished so that anybody who willfully commits murder would have to meet punishment personally. At the same time, a campaign for the struggle against tribalism has been embarked upon. When the power of the Government and the masses cooperated in this struggle, complete internal security was attained so that each person and family could settle at any preferred location without hinderence, and the transgressor caught wherever he might be and brought before the law.

In order to provide strong basis for economic development, and make the planning process possible, the commanding heights of the national economy such as the financial institutions, fuel distribution major factories in foreign hands, and foreign trade has been nationalized. Steps for a planning programme had been instituted with greater emphasis on investment in productive sectors the longer strategy being the strengthening of the Public Sector and Co-operatives so as to ultimately create a balanced socialist economy.

The transformation of public administration has been started. We all know that before 1969 the administration of the country was in hands

of a few and concentrated in, or rather confined to, Mogadishu. The rest of the country was isolated and the only thing the people there felt of public administration was the District Commissioner, Police Station and the tribal chief. Evidently such an administrative system was of little benefit to the real interests of the people and country. Realising that public Administration is a powerful instrument for social and economic change, the Revolution started to build the administration in a new way. This new way was based on the socialist thinking that a country cannot fully develop unless its people democratically participate in its running and completely control its resources. Many steps and regulations expressing this thought had been taken. Among these were: the redivision of the administrative regional and district areas; the establishment of the management and workers' committees; and the creation of many new State Agencies for the various businesses and services of the country.

After a brief period of preparation, a writing system was developed for our language and immediately implemented in the schools and all official work. Today the whole world is a witness to the success of this step and has admitted that it can be a model to the success of this step and has admitted that it can be a model for all the culturally dominated peoples. The writing of our language enabled us for the first time in our history to conduct a campaign for the elimination of illiteracy, which is today progressing fairly well. This campaign went side by side with the expansion of normal education upto the university

level, so as to open the opportunity to every boy and girl. At the same time the expansion of health service, both human and livestock, had been given emphasis.

The working people achieved many gains during the nine Years of Revolutionary power. Among these gains are the following:

i) The transfer of political power into the hands of the working people.

ii) Creation of many economic projects which increased employment.

iii) The promulgation of many laws protecting the interests of the working people.

iv) The establishment of the Somali Federation of Trade Unions.

v) Creation of new sources of income for the worker's organisations such as the «Worker's Fund», and the Government houses given to them.

vi) The raising of their political consciousness and technical skills. Technical workers had been evaluated and given the necessary certificates and promotions.

These various efforts effecting the all-sided progress of the society were accompanied by raising the political consciousness of the people and their mobilization through continuous and practical campaigns of Self-Help Schemes until the creation of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party which, today is complete in its structure, has its social organisations and cadres, and is leading the country in the construction of

socialism. Simultaneously, the capacity and efficiency of the Defense Forces had been raised in both quantity and quality by giving them a higher standard of political, military and technical training.

Finally during the revolutionary period the Liberation Movements of the colonial occupied areas took concrete steps toward their emancipation. Djibouti today is an independent country with which we share mutual respect and co-operation. Likewise, the peoples of Western Somalia and Somali Abbo under Abyssinian colonialism had, during the last few years, intensified their struggle and liberated their land. But, unfortunately, some of the major powers massively came to the rescue of colonialism. In all cases the Revolutionary Government in Somalia gave whatever support it could to the Liberation Movements.

From these few examples, it is evident that the Revolution spared no effort in fulfilling its programme, and have achieved concrete victories. This fact will readily be apparent from the reports that will be presented to you by the various committees appointed by the Central Committee for the different fields facing this congress. However, it cannot be claimed that all that could have been done in such a period were accomplished or that the aspirations were attained in full. In fact there are many apparent shortcomings and setbacks, as became evident during the District and Regional debates, which became obstacle to the full realization of the programme.

There may seem to be a contradiction between the correct

programme established by the Revolution and the major steps taken in its fulfilment on the one hand, and the shortcomings and setbacks just mentioned on the other. There is no wonder in this. History teaches us that progress is achieved through the interaction of contradictions. The forces of progress rebel against, and want to change, the status quo while the status quo and those who stand for it offer resistance. The struggle between these two yields the result.

The struggle between ideologies and those representing the them is not something that did not exist in, or have been eliminated from, our society. We all know that the greatest and antagonistic contradiction exists between our Revolution which wants to unify the people and raise their life to a higher level, and colonialism and internal reactionaries who do not want any progress for our people.

Its mystery, therefore, that these enemies of the people will try every means to sabotage and defeat us. The means to achieve this heinous purpose are diverse but the strategic aim is always one. Among these means are: Outside aggression, internal Coup D'etat or more sinister, the creation of confusion and disintegration in the revolutionary forces so as to weaken them and ultimately defeat them.

The 21 October Revolution was a bloodless one, and the Revolutionary Government embarked on a policy based on the Unity and solidarity of the Somali people so that every individual will have an opportunity to participate in the development and building of the nation. This hea-

thy, clean and patriotic approach was exploited by many reactionary elements. These elements, after playing hide and seek for a time, when they finally succeeded in occupying important positions in the administration of the country, began to insidiously implement their policy of economic sabotage, distortion of principles. Misrule of public affairs, treason of their country and the attempts at Coup D'etats. The aim of all these conspiracies is to seriously harm the 21 October Revolution and substitute with it a quasi-government based on tribalism and opportunism, and serving only colonialism. This attempt to insidiously bring about the fall of a Socialist Government is not a new phenomenon.

Most of these tactics have been tried on our revolution. We all know the number of attempted coup d'etats the last being that of 9th April 1978. All of them had been nipped in the bud, thanks to the vigilance of our security forces. The gratitude of the Somali people for the tasks performed by these forces with excellence and self-sacrifice is incalculable. The masses, whose political consciousness has reached a high level, also played an important role in the struggle against these plots, a fact that is eloquent testimony to the vital and essential work done by the revolutionary forces of the Party and the social organisations.

Although the danger of foreign aggression is still there, and even more stronger today, yet the tactics presently employed by the enemies of the revolution is to create internal confusion and disintegration. They can try many ways to achieve their purposes. Among these means are:-

— Economic sabotage through the employment of the capitalist elements who desire to regain their weight and the opportunists in the administration. This unholy alliance breeds corruption, bribery, getting - rich - quick mentality, neglect of public interest and waste of public resources.

— The use of the slogan-mongers who propagate catch-words in which they do not actually believe, while their actual practice is to the contrary. Their purpose is to confuse the masses and alienate them from the revolution.

— The alliance with, and the exploitation of, those who, aiming at benefiting from the efforts of the revolution in unifying the people, from the consequences of the struggle of the liberation movement for their freedom, and the unconditional support given them by the Somali people, want to revive the ugly faces of tribalism, and whose activities we witness today.

The aim of all these is to render the revolution a bone without marrow. It is therefore mandatory to conduct a relentless and merciless struggle simultaneously against all of them.

Aside from the serious problems created for us by the enemy, the shortcomings we feel have also other causes connected with the socio-economic stage through which we are passing. It is well-known that the colonial legacy of economic backwardness implies educational and technological backwardness, and integration with the dominant world economy. These problems cannot be easily eliminated. On the contrary their solution calls for a long-term struggle, a struggle which the

Revolution avowed to carry on with an undaunted will. Again we all know that the Nation and the Revolution faced specific, but drastic problems such as the battle against epidemic diseases, long droughts and the support of the liberation struggle against colonialism.

Although the Somali people had successfully overcome these latter difficulties, yet they were serious enough that their negative effects on our economy are still apparent. Setbacks and shortcomings are definitely there, but when we do an honest and serious evaluation of our efforts, as this present Extraordinary Congress is doing, it is obvious that the achievements are by far greater, and that we have definitely taken the first major steps toward our social progress.

If it is obvious that the Revolution had seriously embarked in implementing its programme, and if we had met with certain setbacks and obstacles in fulfilling this programme, it behooves us today to find sufficient solutions and take concrete steps towards overcoming these setbacks, so as to make the continuity of the Revolution permanent. Though the commissions appointed by the Central Committee for the study of the various problems will present their proposals and the Congress will subsequently take its decisions. I feel it is necessary that the following points should be given special consideration.

Submitted before us today is the national constitution. We view this constitution, as we have pointed out last October, as having particular importance for our political development. It is going to extend and deepen the genuine revo-

lutionary democracy we are experimenting in our country. We are confident that you will approve it so that it can be submitted later to a national referendum.

Although internal security today is excellent, yet we have to double our efforts in the struggle against tribalism which the reactionaries are attempting to revive. The main weapon in the struggle against tribalism, as the Revolution planned in the beginning, consists of three aspects :-

— Socio-economic change which eliminates the need of the individual for the tribe;

— New social organisations that demand and acquire his allegiance; and

— Laws that safeguard equality and the sense of nationhood, and outlaws tribal loyalty.

While the Revolution will never relax its long-term struggle involving all three aspects, yet what is required foremost today is to fulfil with an iron hand the laws set for the eliminations of this outdated social evil. The work of the security forces must be accompanied by the tasks of the party cadres and the social organisations consisting in constant political education and mobilization. They must mingle with the masses and fulfil among them the Party Programme.

We must also give special consideration to streamlining and strengthening the administration of the regions and districts. It seems that the legislation promulgated for this purpose is being sidestapped and ignored. I want to make it clear again here that the au-

thorities of the regions and districts are fully responsible for all the work going on in their regions. They are also responsible for all the workers and employees in their areas, in overseeing the fulfilment of their duties and rights. At the same time the working people wherever they are must be protected from their class enemies who want to submit them to oppression and nepotism, so that they may overcome any relaxation of work and opportunism and continue playing their important role of defending the Revolution. It is also necessary to search and find the necessary optimum between prices, productivity and the income of the working people. It is not possible in the present difficult circumstances to hold down prices, or raise wages and salaries, without increasing productivity.

Finally, I want to remind you again that our country is passing through a critical period. We have full confidence in the bravery and self-sacrifice of our people. We are also confident that each region and district will play its proper role in the defence of the mother land.

FOREIGN POLICY

The foreign policy of any state is based on two important aspects:-

1. The aspect that pertains to the special and just interests of each nation and that defines its international commitments and agreements.

2. The aspect that pertains to the general international community which defines each nation's responsibilities and obligations with regards to peaceful coexistence, coopera-

tion and the prevention of conflicts.

As soon as the 21st October Revolution unfolded, the SDR adopted points which served as the basis of its foreign policy. These points, mentioned in the first charter of the Revolution, are as follows :-

1. Support for international solidarity and national liberation movements;

2. Oppose and fight against all forms of colonialism and neo-colonialism;

3. To struggle to maintain the Somali National Unity;

4. To recognise strongly the principle of peaceful coexistence between all peoples.

5. To continue and preserve the policy of positive neutrality; and

6. To respect and recognise all legal international commitments undertaken by the Somali Republic.

These propositions did not come out of the blue, they were the crystallization of our long history of struggle against colonialism, the victory of our independence and the experience we gained from international relations.

No doubt, these propositions express the general feelings of the Somali people and the aspirations for which they have struggled for years. The implementation of such a policy demanded hard work, integrity and a historical perspective that could harmonise them with our political, economic and defence capabilities.

Well, then, what were our

realities? Indeed, we were a small nation whose people had been divided and whose economy had been crippled; and for a long time our people had been subject to moral and cultural subjugation. In addition, we were and still are, part of the third World countries which are considered to be on the periphery of world decision-making centres. Nevertheless, the tasks of policy-making in each nation is to digest the political trends emanating from the world at large, and to implement them in its bilateral and international relations. On our part, whatever be our capabilities, we can state that we have done our outmost to carry out these international obligations. This is demonstrated by the increasing number of countries with which we have established diplomatic relations, the numerous good-will missions to several countries, our participation in many international organisations and events, and our solidarity links with many organisations and movements.

Somalia's active foreign policy is evidenced by its role in the work of international organisations such as the Arab League, the Organisation of African Unity, the United Nations and the Non-aligned movement. All this facilitates the understanding and implementation of Somalia's general stand on international issues as well as on particular ones pertaining to the Somalia people.

We strongly believe that the destiny of the Somali people will be determined by:

1. The future of the Somali people under colonial rule.
2. The realisation of so-

cialist construction in the SDR.

While implementing these two objectives we remained fully cognisant of the difficulties involved, and accordingly we appealed to the Somali nation and to others concerned, to understand our cause and to assist us. If we, for example, take up the issue of the liberation of the Somali people under colonial bondage, then the question of Western Somalia is paramount. It is indeed unfortunate that the colonial power in this case is a neighbourly African state with which we could have had mutual cooperation in order to truly work together for the development of this region and its peoples. On our part we have directly faces the matter and presented the succeeding regimes in Ethiopia with reasonable solutions asking them to produce reasonable counter proposals, if they had any.

Despite the negative responses and convinced that anger or emotional nationalist feeling should not take the upper hand in the government's thinking, we have approached many friendly countries on matter including Africans, socialists, and members of the nonaligned movement. Even then; nothing fruitful has resulted from all these efforts. While we were engaged in such political and diplomatic efforts, the liberation movements did not await us and neither did they harbour any hope from such means. They continued their long struggles because their daily existence was subject to colonial imposition and hardships. Their slogan remained. «Either accept colonial bondage or liberate yourself with the gun».

In fact the liberation war

heated up and the liberation movement gained outstanding victories against the colonial forces. At this point the Ethiopian regime by-passing the regions in which were confronted by liberation fighters attacked the Somali Democratic Republic in order to convert the war into one between the two states and thereby appeal for and receive support from super powers and to involve major military blocs into the conflict.

For a long time we warned that such Ethiopian appeals were simply tricks intended to cover up their aggressive designs. It happened that foreign troops entered the region so as to hide the nature of Ethiopian colonialism, and the liberation war. In order to lead astray world public opinion, they even went further to the point of bombarding towns within the Somali Democratic Republic.

We were thus left no choice but to defend our country and people, to support the liberation movement to the best of our ability and to be ready for whatever sacrifices we may face because, as we said last October, they are struggling for their inalienable rights, for their existence and for their self-determination.

Even today the Ethiopian regime, with the support of its allies, continues to wage new threats and acts of aggression bombarding the towns of the SDR and killing innocent people. The main objective of all this is to bring about a direct war between the two states so as to fully cover-up the issue of the liberation struggles.

On the other hand, in the process of developing our country into a prosperous and

self-sufficient one we have enlisted the support of many states, not all of which were socialist. This necessary had to be since the kind of socialism we are constructing in Somalia is not hostile to any state or people, but is intended for the development and well-being of our people, the growth of our economy and the transformation of our society from nomadism, doing away with tribalism and exploitation. Among the countries with which we co-operated in this endeavour was the Soviet Union for both historical and state considerations. The historical consideration arises from the fact that the Soviet Union was the first socialist country, while the state consideration ability to achieve a great deal provided there is good will. We signed a friendship treaty which we hoped would be a beacon for the emergence of socialist society in the Horn of Africa. Unfortunately, its particular superpower interests which can sacrifice, if necessary, the notions of justice, the cause of the liberation movements, and friendship treaties themselves, became dominant.

Consequently, the aims of this superpower ran counter to fundamental interests of the Somali Nation, and the friendship treaty was violated by their side and hence became null and void, leading to the Central Committee decision of November 13th.

Now, the question arises: The Soviet Union, the Ethiopian regime and their allies what are their intentions and plans with regards to the bad colonial situation in the Horn? Do they intend to annihilate the people of Western Somalia, Abbo and Eritrea? Do they intend to solve by force the

differences between Somalia and Ethiopia which is a consequence of these liberation problems? Where is the political solution mentioned by the Soviet Union and Ethiopia in their joint communication? Truly, after we had fully examined the many aspects of this issue, we have not been able to discern any political solution worked out by these states.

The loud propaganda they spread is but a smoke-screen for their real plans and actions intended to annihilate one by one the colonized peoples, suppress their movements until finally, they undermine the very existence of Somali Democratic Republic.

Presumably, they intend to isolate the Somali Democratic Republic as a prelude to destroying her. Such attempts ended up in vain before, and they will not succeed now. Somalia has got many friends, and these are those states and peoples who love freedom, strive for justice and oppose aggression. Nevertheless, Somalia's best friend the just cause it is supporting, the bravery and unity of its people, the integrity, firmness and cohesiveness of its Party.

In spite of such difficulties it is not totally impossible that Somalia and Ethiopia could work out ways and means to negotiate the common interests of both countries and seek out a just political solution serving the immediate and longrange interests of their peoples. Likewise, it is not impossible for Somalia and the Soviet Union to work out a policy on that framework provided there is good will on both sides.

Nevertheless, Somalia's gene-

ral policy is based on:

1. Continuing to support the liberation movements;
2. Defending itself against and repulsing any aggression;
3. Remaining always open to any political solutions presented to it.

Somalia remains convinced that African countries and their organisation, (the OAU), will not tolerate any aggression committed against the Somali Democratic Republic, for the very reason that, Somalia is a founding member of the OAU and its charter and plays an active role in preserving it. Similarly we do not think that African countries are opposed to the just right of self-determination.

Let us therefore ask ourselves: Was Ethiopia a politically free country which expanded and colonised neighbouring countries while the rest of Africa was under European colonial rule, or was Ethiopia itself a colonised country like the rest of Africa and therefore inherited colonially imposed borders with its neighbours? Obviously, Ethiopia wavers between these two historical realities. However much the Ethiopian regime refuses and denies such realities, facts cannot be hidden. The historical fact remains that the Ethiopian regime is a colonial one; and unless and until it radically transforms its position and policies which are directed towards the suppression of the people's they colonise, the conflicts raging in the Horn of Africa will be difficult to resolve. Evidently, the presence of foreign troops, the wars they are waging, and the flagrant interference in the

internal affairs of the region by the superpowers only serves to complicate and delay the possibilities of political solutions to the problems involved.

Burning problems are found not only in the Horn of Africa other parts of the continent experience serious turmoil, the Southern African question particularly draws our preoccupation in this context.

Indeed, the Somali Government never relaxed in giving enthusiastic support to the liberation movements in Namibia and Zimbabwe.

Africa and the world have special responsibility to see to the urgent and immediate liberation of Namibia; we hold that it is not possible for the Apartheid regime in South Africa to do as it wishes with regards to the destiny of the Namibian people.

Despite the services rendered for it by puppets, despite the direct and indirect support given to it by other governments, despite pseudo-referendums and organized propaganda, South Africa cannot stop the dynamic will of the Liberation Movement of the Namibian people led by SWAPO. Ultimately, the final victory will be theirs.

With regards to Zimbabwe, you are all aware that about a year ago we hosted some of its top-level leaders and conferred with them about the liberation of their country. Obviously, first priority must be given to political solutions, since the avoidance of destructive bloody confrontations is the responsibility of all. It was for this reason that we have supported the efforts of the Frontline States. It is ap-

parent, however, that the patience of the liberation movement, the efforts of the Frontline States and even the mediatory initiatives of some Western Governments did not contribute to any acceptable political solution.

It is clear that the obstinacy and dangerously aggressive character of the Southern African racist regimes will only harvest for the region bitter conflicts and long turmoil which will become inevitable in order to overcome the oppression of these brotherly peoples who have been struggling for their independence for a long time.

And now as I turn to the relations between Somalia and other sisterly Arab states, I wish to thank them and other friendly states for their understanding and assistance to the liberation movements and for the way they support the Somali Democratic Republic on its struggle for the defence of its sovereignty, and for social and economic development. That is not strange since they understand the historical responsibilities placed upon them by the cause of all oppressed peoples, particularly the oppressed Arab people. That is why they also supported and continue to support the just cause of the Palestine people is today undergoing a critical phase.

We believe that after long years of bloodshed it should be possible to attain a final peaceful solution to the Middle East conflict which could only be that Israel should relinquish all Arab territories occupied in 1967 and the people of Palestine be given their right to self-determination.

The Arab nation has many

enemies, among these are colonialism which violates their sovereignty and also economic under development. We believe that these and other differences could be overcome through political solidarity and economic co-operation.

Our relations with Asian countries has been constantly improving, particularly our relations with the People's Republic of China with which we have had long historical contacts. These historical contacts facilitated the establishment of diplomatic relations soon after our independence and assumed renewed strength following the birth of the October 1969 Revolution. We have exchanged several high level delegations including visits by the President and vice-presidents. We cannot forget the honourable stand taken by the Chinese Government against foreign intervention particularly in the regional affairs of the people of the Horn. We believe that the struggle of the people of China for political independence, unity and economic development serves as a vivid example for the people of the third world.

We also wish to draw attention to the grave situation presently existing in South-East Asia. We are deeply troubled by the events in Cambodia. It is indeed an ugly affair with serious consequences for the stability of legitimate states and international peace. The flagrant aggression committed by Vietnam against Cambodia is a dangerous precedent which must command the serious attention and necessary connection of the international community.

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RESOLUTIONS OF THE EXTRA-ORDINARY CONGRESS OF THE SRSP



The First Extra-ordinary congress of the Somali Revolutionary socialist party held in Mogadishu on the 20th to 25th January 1979;

CONSIDERING the Resolutions of the Founding Congress of the Party, held on June 20th to July 1st 1976, wherein the statutes and the Programme of the Party were approved

HAVING STUDIED, analysed, and debated the current problems pertaining in the world today, the difficult stage through which the Somali Revolution and Nation is passing, the confusion created by the interference of foreign

forces in the intricate problems of the Horn of Africa, and the duty of the party towards all of these questions;

HAVING HEARD the Reports and Recommendations of the Party conferences at regional level, and the Reports of the Commissions which the Central Committee of the SRSP appointed for the study of political, economic and social questions, and for the review of the Party Statutes and Programme, all of which gave due consideration to the recommendations of the Party conferences at Regional and District levels;

DULY CONSIDERING the

wide-ranging speech, full of thoughtful insights of political economic and social nature, delivered by the General Secretary at the opening Session of the Congress;

Has taken decisions on the following matters:

1. INTERNAL POLICY

INSPIRED by the Programme of the Revolution prior to the formation of the Party and by the Party Programme itself aimed at the progress and development of the Somali Nation;

CONSIDERING the fruitful results achieved through their implementation;

HAVING STUDIED the difficult situation arising from the legitimate struggle of the Liberation Movements of Western Somali and Somali Abbo against Abyssinian colonialism and its allies in order to liberate their motherland;

HAVING SERIOUSLY reviewed the pitfalls which the enemies of the Revolution and the National can take advantage of in order to reach their ugly aims;

ADAMANTLY CONVINCED of the necessity of making the Revolution permanent so that

it could safeguard itself against its internal and external enemies;

THE EXTRA - ORDINARY CONGRESS

DECIDES

1. To submit the National Constitution, approved by the Congress in its current Session, for a public referendum during the current year.

2. To strengthen the leadership role of the Party; to ensure the full implementation of its statutes and Programme and likewise strengthen the role of the Social Organisations in the implementation of the Party's programme and advancement of the struggle of the masses for the building of a Socialist Society;

3. Cognizant that the most effective weapon that will ultimately defeat the evil of tribalism is genuine socio-economic change capable of eliminating the need of the individual for the tribe; new social organisations which demand and acquire his allegiance, and the laws governing the protection of the individual and of equality and the sense of nationhood; realising also that the serious steps taken towards these goals should be continued, yet the immediate task today is to implement with an iron hand all the laws and regulations passed for the purpose of struggling against tribalism.

To this end it is imperative that:

i) The continuous struggle against tribalism and its ugly features be revitalized

ii) The Party cadres, the Social organisations and other

Revolutionary forces should continue their struggle against reactionary groups and should redouble their efforts and effectively accomplish their role of continuous mass orientation mobilization and organization, in consonance with the Party Programme, in order to ensure the proper direction of the masses and the elimination of reactionary elements.

iii) To strengthen the security forces and reorganize their method of operation.

4. That great attention be given at present to safeguarding the unity of the Somali masses so as to strengthen their readiness for defending their nationhood, and for vigilance against enemy puppets and reactionary elements bent upon confusing the masses and sabotage the hard-won gains of the Revolution.

5. To defend the working People from the alliance of Reactionaries and bureaucrats (as a class) so as to safeguard the workers from Repression, Injustice, Nepotism and Tribalism and to ensure that the working people refrain from shortcomings in performance and from opportunism and that they actively and conscientiously defend the Revolution in cooperation with other Progressive Forces.

6. To promote the application of Law No. 21 on the Regional and District Administration, which has not been implemented as anticipated and the central Government Organs should contribute towards the application of such Law.

7. To revitalize the self-reliance programme for National Economic and Organizational advancement.

II. EXTERNAL POLICY

PROCEEDING from the chapter of the 1st Charter of the Revolution regarding Foreign Policy, and the Party Programme approved by the founding congress on July 1st 1976;

HAVING ANALYSED our State relations with the rest of the world;

Considering the complicated situation currently prevailing in the Horn of Africa, and how the legitimate struggle of the Liberation Movements may affect; our foreign policy;

CONSIDERING the Charter of the OAU and the United Nations.

THE EXTRA-ORDINARY CONGRESS OF THE SRSP

DECIDES

1. To continue to support the legitimate struggle of the Liberation Movements for their freedom and self-determination particularly the Liberation Movements of Western Somali and Somali Abbo.

2. To further strengthen our already good relations with our Arab brothers so that our co-operation may bear continuous fruitful results, and take its proper role in the efforts for Arab Unity.

3. To strengthen our relations with the African countries with whom we share the same continent and the same organisation.

4. To increase our efforts towards the improvement of our relations with those socialist governments parties and other progressive movements who are

not opposed to our national interest and who adhere to the principle of peaceful co-existence as well as to finding a just and lasting solution to problems in the Horn of Africa.

5. To further our Co-operation and state relations with the countries of the West for a mutually beneficial cooperation;

6. To further develop our relations with the Asian countries with whom we share the same aspirations.

7. Not to allow any relaxation in Somalia's active role in regional and international organisations such as the Arab League, the Organisation of African Unity, the Movement of Non-aligned Nations, the United Nations and the like.

DECLARATION

The Extra-ordinary Congress:

1. Calls upon the Major powers to expeditiously play their role, in the endeavour to find a just and peaceful solution to the complicated problems of the Horn of Africa.

2. Calls in particular upon the Soviet Union and its allies to stop their blatant interference in the affairs of the Horn of Africa and to cease the suppression of the right of the peoples who are struggling for their self-determination.

3. Declares that the Somali Democratic Republic, while prepared to defend itself against any foreign aggression, would at the same time keep an open-mind to consider political solutions to problems in the Horn that might be proposed to it, and remains committed to finding the ways and means of reaching understanding with the Governments of the Region.

RESOLUTIONS ON ECONOMIC MATTERS

THE ECONOMY AND THE THREE YEAR PLAN

Considering the economic objectives that were outlined in the Party Programme approved during the Founding Congress in July 1976;

Considering the economic report of the Central Committee of the SRSP which pointed out the economic policies and tasks implemented, the achievements attained, the obstacles encountered and the existing shortcomings;

Considering the proposals and resolutions of the district and regional conferences held in preparation for this Extra-ordinary congress;

Having listened to the project of the Three Year Plan;

Taking into account the discussions and resolutions of recent, district and Regional Party preparatory conferences;

Having listened to the reports presented before the Extraordinary Congress by the Regional Party Committees and Social Organisations;

The Extra-ordinary Congress of the SRSP has approved the following resolutions in relation to the economic development of the country:

1. THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC SYSTEM

In order to accelerate the construction of a solid economic basis for the benefit of the Somali People:

a) It is necessary to strengthen, the crucial and active role of the Public Sector in

the sphere of: economic production, that of commerce dealing with necessities, that of banks and financial institutions, that of administration and inspection of the economic organs linked with the material needs of the people.

b) It is important to encourage and further strengthen, the role of the cooperatives in agricultural-livestock productions, fisheries, handicrafts and all other sectors of the economy.

c) It is also necessary to encourage and appeal to private entrepreneurs to participate actively in the economic development of the country, directing their investments to agricultural and livestock production, fisheries, industries, mining, salt manufacturing and in any other sphere that contributed to the development of the national economy and to the general prospect, of the people.

2. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY: SECTOR PRIORITIES

Considering the present level of our economic development, the needs of the masses with regards to their livelihood and their inadequate income, the first priority of our economic strategy should be directed towards increasing production: agricultural, fisheries, livestock, industries and mineral. Nevertheless, it is obvious that increasing production necessitates better infrastructure such as roads and ports as well as the improvement of social services, education and the creation of technical cadres. It is also necessary to improve health services for people and livestock, better grazing and soil conservation methods as well as better social and

administrative services, all of which serve as the basis for improved economic production.

Accordingly, we have to implement balanced economic policies, and make them adaptable to changing conditions, using the means within our capacities that would achieve the greatest development in the shortest period of time.

3. PRODUCTION

In order to materialise the production targets envisioned, the Congress deems it necessary:

a) To increase capital investment in the productive sectors of the economy and the modernisation of the techniques and methods of production.

b) To train Somali Cadres that would fulfill the targets of the productive sectors.

c) To reorganise the administration, and to gear it towards the country's economic objectives.

d) To set up price-policies that encourage local producers and that do not harm the consumption of the masses.

e) To introduce socialist competition in work and production.

4. INCREASING AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

a) It is necessary to strengthen the production of basic foodstuffs: maize, millet, rice, beans, sesame, vegetables, in order to provide the peoples' necessary nourishment. It is also important to increase the production of cotton, sugar and wheat in order to reduce their import and thereby save

hard currency.

b) It is vital to diversify agricultural production in such a manner as to encourage both external and internal trade and supply the necessary raw materials for domestic industries.

c) Preservation of soil in order to obtain higher production yields year after year and its conservation and production from erosion.

5. THE ROLE AND OBJECTIVES OF LIVESTOCK, FORESTRY AND RANGE.

It is necessary:

a) To protect livestock against disease and droughts in order to prevent economic disasters and pitfalls.

b) To increase livestock cross-breeding in order to improve yields.

c) To study and implement the best means to improve dairy and meat products.

d) To improve the quantity and quality of the export of livestock on hoof, meat, hides, and skins.

e) To put emphasis on environmental protection, specially reafforestation so as to conserve soil and improve climate.

6. INCREASING PRODUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT OF FISHERIES

It is necessary:

a) To put emphasis on fisheries and marine production so as to increase national wealth.

b) To increase the export of fish and marine products so as to gain hard currency.

c) To relate the increased production of fish and marine products to the national living standards and particularly to the livelihoods of the fishing communities.

d) To improve marine industries and fisheries in such a way as to make them employ great numbers of a people on a permanent basis.

e) To improve fish marketing for the benefit of mass consumption.

f) To gather during the period of the Three-Year plan (1979/81), all the scientific data related to our marine resources and organise systematic surveys that will permit us to know the quantity, quality and diversity of our sea resources.

7. INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION OBJECTIVES

It is necessary:

a) To complete all projects outlined in the previous economic plan (1974/78), which are yet incomplete.

b) To expand, modernise and change old machinery of existing industries in order to increase their productivity and return.

c) To give top priority to those industries whose raw materials are available in the country after careful studies.

d) To encourage cooperatives and private entrepreneurs so that they may take an active part in the establishment of small industries needed in the country.

e) It is necessary to carry out frequent research and training in order to obtain feasible projects that would benefit

development.

ROLE AND OBJECTIVES OF MINERALS PRODUCTION

It is necessary:

a) To continue the scientific mineral research undertaken during the last five year plan (1974/1978) and to accelerate the steps taken during its duration in the Sphere of:

i) Metallic and non-metallic minerals;

ii) Exploration of fuel such as oil and natural gas.

b) To profit as soon as possible from the exploitation of minerals already ascertained such as uranium and the like.

c) To further explore and analyse known mineral resources and study their economic possibilities.

d) To increase the quantity and quality of Somali Ex-

perts involved in mineral and geological research and supply them the necessary tools and equipment.

9. PRICES AND THE LIVING STANDARDS

Taking into account the international economic crisis generally, and specially the increases in prices and living standards, that directly affect the livelihood of the masses;

Taking into account that Somalia is not isolated but involved in various international transactions that bring to her and similar third world countries all the effects of the International Economic crisis;

Being convinced that economic development provides the true basis for a sound livelihood;

Having evaluated the continuous and serious measures taken by the Ex-Supreme Revolutionary Council and the SRSP so as to prevent inflation and their effects on the living standards of the people;

It is necessary to take the following steps:

a) The adoption of known and standardized prices, free from the effects of maladministration, inefficiency and corruption, for crucial imported goods such as food items, essential clothing, construction materials, and medicines.

b) The adoption of economically standardised prices for national products especially agricultural products.

c) The fulfillment of the previously adopted house construction plans by the GFTU, ministries, agencies and cooperatives with the help of the financial institutions such as the banks and insurance agencies. The latter should also play an active role of its own in this matters of housing development.

d) To strengthen and expand health care and services with the active and permanent participation of economic institutions and especially to reorganise worker insurance policies.

e) Serious and constant inspection should follow the implementation of these resolutions.

10. FOREIGN TRADE

As is known, our balance of

payments, especially current accounts, is in deficit. Balance in our trade accounts could only be realised with the increase of our production and the quantity and quality of our exports. Some of these problems we share with all developing countries. But, some of these are related to the mentality of our society, our system of administration, and our activities that are overly directed towards trade rather than production. This wrong mentality which hinders our economic progress, is supported by the tastes of some of our urban dwellers who yearn for luxury consumer items imported from countries which have greater economic resources, different social and life patterns.

To overcome these foreign trade deficit problems it is necessary to take the following steps:

a) To systematically plan for diminishing luxury imports and encourage the consumption of local products.

b) To increase the quality and quantity of our production and this should be reflected in our daily efforts, in our plan, and in our budget so as to satisfy our local demands and increase our exports.

c) To seriously reorganise our foreign trade administration and management.

d) To overhaul our system of foreign trade and make all efforts to facilitate the increase of our exports.

11. STATE FINANCIAL POLICIES AND MANAGEMENT

Considering the various victories achieved by the October,

1969 Revolution in the improvement and organisation of state financial policies and management, and at the same time keeping in mind the current economic problems generally and those pertaining to state financial administration in particular, the Extraordinary Congress of the SRSP adopts the following:

- a) To economize state budgetary expenditure as much as possible by minimizing unnecessary services.
- b) To seriously evaluate all those government agencies and institutions that are not economically self-sustaining.
- c) To tighten inspection and budgetary control (revenue and expenditures) of all government organs.
- d) To improve the administrative system, the know-how and technological capacity of all government personnel involved in handling state finances.
- e) To minimise dependency on import taxes for revenue domestic production must be increased in order to raise alternative sources of revenue.
- f) To improve the quality of work.

FINANCIAL POLICIES

- a) At the present time our financial policies should be directed towards the protection of the value of the Somali Shilling and to be careful about its consequences on our local prices.
- b) With regards to Bank credits, we should continue to channel these towards productive sectors of the economy giving them the priorities in-

dictated by the development plan.

- c) A budget for the utilization of foreign reserves must be planned for each year.

13. MANPOWER UTILIZATION AND INCREASING EMPLOYMENT

Considering the concrete steps taken by the October Revolution with regards to manpower utilisation and increasing employment, the Extraordinary Congress decided:

- a) To strengthen the policy of increasing employment and manpower survey.
- b) To channel our employment policies towards productive sectors in a planned manner, taking into account our current economic conditions.
- c) To remedy the defects in the process of employing people, such as people employed in the wrong fields, and those staying in ministries and agencies that do not need their services.
- d) To direct, as much as possible, our intellectuals and experts and other responsible officials towards the productive sectors such as industrial, agricultural and fisheries, projects, etc, especially in the regions and districts.

14. COOPERATIVES

Cooperatives play a major role in fulfilling the economic objectives of the SRSP. Given our socialist perspective and the specific features of our economy, increasing production and economic development could not be realised without cooperatives. Cooperatives are an illustrative means of coordinating mental and

physical labour. socialisation of the economy and serving the interests of the masses.

In order to fulfill such objectives, it is necessary:

- a) To strengthen the administration of Somali Cooperatives, and to improve the inspection and organisation of their activities by the Organisation of Somali Cooperatives Movement.
- b) The structure and implementation of cooperatives should be according to their quality and quantity of production.
- c) Cooperatives should play a major role in accelerating production.
- d) Somali Cooperative should benefit from mutual and reciprocal relations with cooperatives in other parts of the world.
- e) Considering the difficulties encountered by Somali people, especially the working people, given that certain traders exploit their daily needs, importance should be given to the task of establishing consumer cooperatives.

15. AGRICULTURAL AND FISHERIES SETTLEMENTS

Taking into account the need that brought about the organisation and implementation of projects for settling drought-stricken victims.

Having examined the levels attained so far..

Having considered the value of projects for the Somali people.

All the concerned institu-

tions should fulfill the projected plan and quickly correct all shortcomings presently visible in their management, in order to make them self-sufficient.

16. CRASH PROGRAMMES

Taking into account the victories achieved in production, in settlement and training as a result of the crash-programme projects, it is still important to direct greater attention to find ways and means to attain economic self-sufficiency by these projects.

17. REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT.

National Economic Development cannot be achieved, obviously, unless the whole country is mobilised taking into account the economic and natural resources and the population of each region and district in the country. We have to fight the trend common in most developing countries whereby rural people flock to one or two cities.

The Ex-Supreme Revolutionary Council and presently the SRSP, having understood the magnitude of this problem, took legal steps in order to decentralise the country's administration and facilitate regional autonomy. In this way regional administration is able to undertake self-reliant activities and at the same time obtain central government help when necessary.

Accordingly,

a) It is necessary to implement regional policies as already provided in our legislation and other measures;

b) Each region should be

studied in detail so as to obtain an accurate picture of its natural resources and consequently to base development plans in such needs and resources;

c) Central Government Organs should remove bureaucracy that hamper the activities and initiatives of regional bodies;

d) It is necessary to channel to the regions greater number of trained technical personnel and responsible cadres;

e) It is important that regional and district state Organs assume greater responsibility with regards to development projects in their areas

COORDINATION AND CONTROL

Coordination and control of the tasks concerned with economic administration generally, and the fulfilment and implementation of the projects in particular, are the basis for attaining social and economic development.

Accordingly,

a) The socio-economic plan at each point in time, must provide the focus for all activities related to coordination and control.

b) Government Organs engaged in the fulfilment of the projected development plan must have special follow-up units or offices in order to better provide coordination and control of their activities.

c) It is necessary to reorganise high level government and party organs of coordination, control, and given them greater responsibilities.

d) It is necessary to exa-

min our foreign economic relations and remove the various shortcomings existing presently.

e) In order to extend planning activity to all levels the same time the part and role of each region and district in the national plan must be clearly defined.

THE THREE YEAR PLAN (1979/81)

Considering the need to base the country's economic development on official and permanent plans.

Given the importance of such national plans and the consequent necessity to have them approved during the party congress.

Having read and examined the three-year economic plan projects, the Extra-ordinary party Congress approves the plan and makes its implementation mandatory on all concerned.

RESOLUTIONS ON SOCIAL AFFAIRS

THE EXTRA ORDINARY CONGRESS OF THE SRSP

GUIDED

by the social goals and objectives as defined in the programme adopted by the founding Congress of the party on July 1st, 1976;

HAVING GIVEN

Serious and due consideration to the Statement made by the Secretary General at the opening by the session of the Congress, and the Central Committee Report debated by the Congress outlining the achievements attained since the October Revolution and

the creation of the party as well as the failures and setbacks met with;

HAVING SEEN

The conclusions and deliberations of the Extra Ordinary Congress of the party recently held at Regional and District Levels.

HAVING STUDIED

The proposals for the future submitted to the Congress by the Secretary General and the Central Committee:

CONCLUDES

EDUCATION:

The October Revolution of 1969 inherited from the post-independence regimes, educational arrangements and facilities that were at odds with the needs, culture and aspirations of our people. They served only the interests of foreign cultures and contributed towards the alienation of our young generations.

The October Revolution forged a total transformation of the education system by the adoption of the mother tongue as the medium of instruction and the creation of a system of education based on the culture of its people and its national requirements.

In the light of this, the Congress of the SRSP decides

1. That teacher training programmes be expanded and strengthened;

2. That greater attention be given to the provision of school equipment and printing facilities for Text Books and other educational material as well the creation of appro-

priate facilities for their maintenance, storage and distribution;

and training be given a very high priority;

4. That teaching of the Quran start in the kindergartens and continue as part of the school curricula in the elementary, intermediate and secondary stages, so as to obviate or reduce the need for private Quranic institutions for children with all their inherent limitations and problems.

5. That, within the limits of available resources, every effort be made to expand the national university to accommodate the introduction of postgraduate courses and specialisation as well as courses and faculties of marine science and languages,

6. That due attention be given to the creation of cadres for high level technology in various fields.

7. That programmes and institutions for scientific research be strengthened.

8. That the Ministry for Local Governments, in cooperation with the Ministries of Education, Health and Regional and District Authorities give special care to the expansion of the programme for the continuation of Literacy Campaign for Rural Communities and the strengthening of its directing committees.

9. That initiatives be taken to create schools of institutions for the training and development of actors and artists etc.

10. That the existing academy for sciences, Arts and

Literature be strengthened.

11. That the equipment and facilities of our mass media

In this regard, special care be taken to control the quality of films shown to the public. over theatres and cinema houses be improved.

LABOUR AND EMPLOYMENT

The first Charter of the Revolution established the right of every Somali to work and called for a society based on the principles of social justice.

The adoption of these principles represented a complete reversal of the arrangements and practices relating to employment which existed before the Revolution.

In order to realise its declared objectives in this regard the revolution went a long way in the mitigating of unemployment, the enactment of fair laws and procedures for unemployment, and its Somalisation, creation of labour organisations and their participation in management and policy making and amelioration of the cost of living in various ways.

To pursue these objectives, this Congress decides:

1. That employment opportunities in the country be expanded, the manpower situation be constantly reviewed and appraised, and employment procedures as laid down by law be strictly observed.

2. That productivity of the worker be raised through better training, provision of material incentives and motiva-

tion.

3. To examine the possibility of striking appropriate policy between the cost of living, salary structure and national production.

To pursue with the policy of raising the awareness of workers towards the difficulties confronting the national during the transitional period of socialist transformation and towards the inculcation of loyalty for the motherland.

5. To review laws relating to workers protection against occupational diseases and their compensation resulting from such diseases.

6. To organize socialist competition amongst workers and agencies operating in the same field.

7. To strengthen control and inspection and to ensure that national organs responsible for inspection adopt and evolve appropriate methods and work programmes.

8. All agencies and organs concerned should dutifully fulfill their functions in accordance with the guidelines and policies laid down above.

SOCIAL HEALTH AND MEDICAL SERVICES

In recognition of the need for these vital services, one of the first steps taken by the revolution was to address itself to this important sector. A programme of action in the field of public health was initiated, and consciousness of the people in maintaining health standards and cleanliness was raised. Medical treatment was expanded. Appropriate institutions were created for all these activities.

While recognising the successful results achieved in this direction by the revolution, the Congress of SRSP, with a view to speed up the realisation of its policy objectives in this regard, decides:

1. To reorganize the work and activities of organs responsible for public health and medical treatment.

2. Since there has been a huge influx of people into the main towns, particularly the capital, prompt steps should be taken to ease out shortages of health services in these towns. With a view to achieve this goal, health centres and outpatients should be expanded and strengthened.

3. Give greater attention to the expansion of M.C.H. clinics and outpatient centres and to supply them with their requirement of accommodation, staff and equipment.

4. For the realisation of the programmes and targets in the health sector, adequate provisions and resources should be allocated both in the national plan and government budgets.

5. The establishment of the pharmaceutical institute should be accelerated with a view to expand the internal production of our pharmaceutical and medical requirements. In the mean while, an effective plan should be worked out for the procurement and supply of medicines and implement appropriate measures for their storage and distribution in order to avoid shortages.

6. To explore ways to reduce the need of sending patients abroad medical treatment and to inculcate in Somali doctors the spirit of devotion and

hard work and at the same time to provide them with necessary medical equipment and facilities.

7. To work towards the expansion of the supply of professionally trained medical personnel at all levels and to increase and improve the effectiveness of laboratory facilities.

SPORTS

The revolution recognizing the need and importance of sports in the national life and guided by the wisdom «A healthy mind is in a healthy body» took many initiatives including the creation of a special Ministry for the promotion of sports.

In pursuit of this policy, the Congress of the SRSP, decides:

1. That the Ministry of Sports should be provided with sufficient resources and trained manpower while the Ministry on its part should endeavour to obtain trainers of international standard in various fields of sport.

2. To reorganize the management of sports in general and particularly existing sports clubs, and to promote sporting facilities throughout the country.

3. To employ and view sports as an important instrument towards bringing about understanding and co-operation between peoples.

4. To promote sporting activities throughout the country, every effort should be made to produce sporting equipment locally.

JUSTICE

During the past nine years

of the revolutionary era and since the creation of the Party, great changes have taken place and major achievements attained in the administration of justice.

In further pursuit of this policy, the extraordinary Congress of the Party, decides:

1. That the principles of justice and equity be observed in all aspects of national life and to strengthen the education and training of personnel concerned with the administration of justice.

2. To workout proper plans and programmes for the rehabilitation of criminals.

3. To emphasize and strengthen programmes for the prevention of crimes.

THE POORER SECTIONS OF THE COMMUNITY

While the Party recognizes the wide and important measures taken by the revolutionary government towards the betterment of the conditions of the poorer sections of society, the Congress decides:

1. To initiate programmes of action for the promotion of gainful employment for these communities as spelled out in the various circulars issued by the Secretary General of the Party in this regard.

2. To prevent and eliminate all undesirable activities and practices contrary to the well-being and moral norms of society.

3. To encourage and promote the production of films in the country and to release those films that will contribute towards the provision of

better entertainment and education and to discourage those films that may lead to negative impact on youth.

4. To instruct the various agencies and authorities responsible for the betterment of the poor, to implement and enforce the laws pertaining to social welfare and to promote new projects geared towards training and creation of employment opportunities for these people.

PARTY STATUTE AND PROGRAMME

At its meetings of 20-25 January, held at Mogadishu, the Extra-ordinary Congress of SRSP; having focused due attention to the objectives and the experiences gained:

— Having thoroughly examined the letter and spirit of the Statute as well as the Programme of action and the policy guidelines therein;

— Having reexamined the objectives and responsibilities of the Party as laid down at its founding Congress with particular reference to the results so far attained in the political, economic and social fields;

— Having heard the reports of the General Secretary and the Committees of the central Committee and taking into consideration the short period of the Party's existence as well as the particularly difficult circumstances;

— Having noted the report of the special committee entrusted with the task of studying the provisions of the Statute and the Programme;

Has arrived at the following conclusions:

PROGRAMME

1. That the programme of the SRSP established by the founding Congress on 1st July 1976 expresses in all its aspects the aspirations of the Somali People and is fully coherent with its immediate and long term interests; because the programme is guided by the laws of Scientific Socialism based on the objective realities and conditions of the society.

2. That whatever shortcomings which might have been noted by some is not directly attributable to the programme itself but other objective factors such as:

A. Lack of sufficient experience on the part of many members of the Party and comprehension of the essence of the programme so as to fulfil their responsibilities.

B. Failure on the part of Government agencies responsible for the implementation of the major sections of the programme (Economic, social, etc) to strictly adhere to the provisions aimed at securing rapid growth in production, social services and better living condition for the people. On the other hand the Party was unable to undertake adequate and constant supervision necessary for the implementation of the Programme. In the light of these factors the Congress determines:

— To strengthen the leading role of the Party in general and in particular the level to production units.

— To increase the knowledge of the Party members, unify their thinking and to create qualitatively and quantitatively adequate cadres.

— To put maximum stress on the development of the economy for the benefit of the people in conformity with the Party's programme.

— To entrust the responsibility for the main arteries of the economy with cadres of proven capabilities and faith in the objectives of purely serving the interests of the people.

To strengthen the supervisory capabilities of the Party so as to secure the implementation of the economic plan and proper social servicing in accordance with the national policy.

— To ensure that the private ownership does not cripple the public ownership and that the former does not prosper at the expense of the later.

1. The Statute of the Party represents a highly valuable instrument commensurate

with the needs of a politically organized society with a unity of intent and purpose engaged in a class struggle and aiming at establishing a new society based on the lofty principles of Socialism which serves its interests, and draws inspiration from the objectives and experiences of the Revolution.

— For a better understanding and easy implementation of Statute the following articles will be amended: 1,2,3,4,5,6,10, 13, 14, 16, 21, 23, 24, 25, 26.

— In view of the establishment of the union of Somali cooperatives movement and its important role both as a social organization and as an instrument of economic development and considering its need for the Party's support the following paragraphs will be added to the articles relating to social organizations: «The Union of the Somali Cooperatives Movement is a social as well as an economic orga-

nization and is the highest organ of the movement. The **main objectives** of the union is to strengthen development of cooperatives and to promote the interests of its members. The Union, inspired by the Statute and Programme of the Party, will contribute towards the struggle of the Somali society to establish a viable economic organization and the creation of a better life for the members of the cooperative movement.

— The Party will encourage their mobilisation, training and raising of the political consciousness as well as giving them economic and technological support.

— Party cells will forge a close link with Co-operative committees, and assist them in their task through Party members amongst them, or through the **party organs in the regions districts and Villages.**

Con. from page 13

The relations between the SDR and the Western countries is getting increasingly better. This is very much so with regards to the countries of the common market which has played and continues to play an important role in assisting us in building our economy. This is an important factor and it encourages us to strengthen our relations and mutual co-operation.

The United States is a big power whose relations with us have not been smooth for quite a period of time. Nevertheless, the Somali Revolution has always been careful with regard to the political actions

and the role played by the United States in the conflicts of the present world because we believe that, for good or for worse, its actions have great effect on many international issues. Therefore, we have tried to make the US understand our position so as to avoid any misunderstandings. At present we can say that the United States has begun to understand many aspects of our country's policy and this is partly due to the many delegations we have exchanged with each other.

We believe, that our relations with the US will take the right course and will finally lead to increased mutual respect and better cooperation

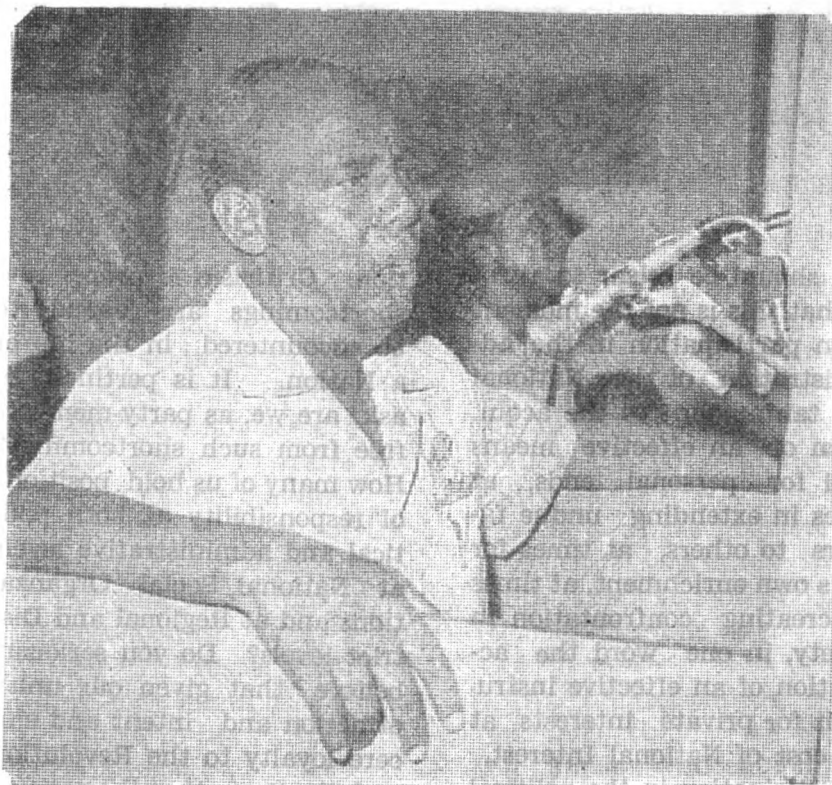
All these increasing relations we have had and will continue to have with foreign states are based on two fundamental propositions:

1. To increase international cooperation, mutual understanding, peaceful coexistence, mutual assistance and greater acquaintance within the world community.

2. The respect for each state's sovereign rights and non-interference in its internal affairs.

We lead our foreign policy on the basis of these propositions and we shall implement them with regards to any other state.

CLOSING SPEECH OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE SRSP AT THE EXTRA-ORDINARY CONGRESS



**JALLEYAL MEMBERS OF
THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE,
JALLEYAL CONGRESSIONAL
DELEGATES,**

I have the great honour of addressing you once again and have pleasure to express my appreciations to all of you for the warm atmosphere and smooth proceeding that have characterized the deliberation of the Congress.

In reality, the Central Committee of our Party, fully aware of the feelings, the day to day life, the concerns and aspiration of the Nation and permanently keeping its ultimate destiny in mind and similarly ware of the interna-

tional issues and developments, could have continued to discharge the responsibilities with which it has been charged at the Founding Congress of the Party and could have awaited on Ordinary Session for its reporting. Its choice to convene an Extra-Ordinary Session of Congress is an evidence, more than everything, to its scrupulous respect for the path traced by our glorious 21st October Revolution in that we have continuously endeavoured to ensure the participation of our people in the management of State Affairs as well as to ensure the thorough indepth understanding of the people for the

reality of matters affecting the nation so that they could participate in the management of state affairs properly, actively and thus contribute to the development of both short and long range policy and strategy reactive to all spheres of national life.

The purpose in creating the former Public Relations Bureau of the SRC, in its later transformation into the political office, in the organisation and mobilization of our masses in the building of social centres, in the abolition of the offices of Governors and District Commissioners, which were the remanents of colonial structurization of society, and the institution in their stead of Committees empowered to administer the regions and districts collectively, was to enhance the degree of political awariness of the masses and to instill in them a sense of confidence whereby they would apply their resources to finding the ways and means of ensuring National Unity, the increase of production, the promotion of knowledge, the defense of the Nation, in one word: to reach self-sufficiency.

The founding of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party changed the method and structure of the organisation of the masses and laid the foundation for a new structure which united all those

who share patriotism, loyalty to the nation, dedication and hardwork, convinced of and committed to the political programme chosen for the development of our country and people and aimed at the building of a socialist society that would guarantee justice, security, job-opportunity, education and all other protections and amenities to the individual.

Despite the circumstances, difficulties which it has encountered and the short span of time that has lapsed since its formation, our party, as you all have correctly stated in your reports, has fulfilled a considerable amount of its tasks. Indeed the convening of this Extraordinary Congress, and the call for open and unreserved debates and deliberations in which all Party members have participated and which has addressed itself to all aspects of the policy of our revolution is yet a further evidence of the strong confidence that our Party has in itself. The submission to this Congress of a Draft constitution which establishes, inter alia, State Organs such as the peoples Assembly which will, in a permanent manner, ensure the participation co-ordination and delineation of National Policies and the Management of the Affairs of State, is an act characterized by an equally significant political courage. It must, however, be understood that such move does not in any way represent a concession to any one but is intended to inspire the Somali masses to dedicate their mind, sacrifice their muscle, unite their intention so that they could ensure the implementation of the Policies they have chosen and the realization of the projects they have planned.



It should be clear to all of us that this is not the moment when participation in the Administration of the National was tantamount to the acquisition of an effective means used for personal ends, at times in extending undue favours to others, at times for one's own enrichment, at times for creating confrontation in society, in one word the acquisition of an effective instrument for private interests at the cost of National Interest.

Participation in the political Leadership is a grave responsibility which is being gradually devolved upon the masses and those who represent them should be persons that have distinguished themselves in dedication, in hard work, in farsight, in proven loyalty to the National, in self abnegation and sacrifice, in steadfastness and who have out-grown the stage of self-interest.

Although you have testified to the progress made and the sense of responsibility with which the Resolution of the founding congress have been executed, you have also pointed out some shortcomings in some parts of the administra-

tion. Criticism is proper and shortcomings are bound to be encountered in the life of a Nation. It is pertinent to ask: are we, as party-members free from such shortcomings? How many of us hold positions of responsibility at both political and administrative levels at National, Social Organizations and at Regional and District levels? Do you seriously believe that given our unity of action and intent and sincere loyalty to the Revolution and the Party that the corrupt individuals could have thrived or that mal-administration would have caused suffering to the Nation? We do not hold such view, on the contrary we are of the view that our execution and follow-up are somewhat incomplete.

We maintain that the difficult circumstances that have of late faced our country and the earlier problems that have adversely affected our economy have not been fully appreciated by you all. It follows that such adverse circumstance plus the present constraints in cadres and know how have given an opportunity to the Anti-Revolutionary and reac-

tionary forces to attempt to take an advantage of the Revolution since they could not withstand it. The activities of such elements should have instilled a sense of urge, challenge unity and stronger determination in you all, but it would appear that you have instead been drawn into confusion and baseless suspicion and consequently have involved yourselves in unnecessary debates to the great satisfaction of the reactionaries.

Jaalleyaal,

The building of the socialist society shall succeed in our country for it is the only socio-economic system that could ensure rapid progress and guarantee social justice to our nation. It shall succeed whether the reactionaries like it or otherwise. The building of socialism does not come by if a society takes a passive approach to nation building. It emerges on the basis of the struggle of the oppressed masses, the workers and progressive forces against their class enemies. The responsibility of leading such forces belongs to themselves, to the Party, to its Cadres, to you.

The war that is being waged against our revolution and our sovereignty does not come from internal reaction alone but more significantly, we should exercise maximum vigilance against the foreign aggression which is being organized externally and which aimed against our sovereign existence. The threat directed against us by the Ethiopian regime proceeds from its reliance on major powers.

The degree of preparedness of our masses for speedy participation in the defense of our nation and the objectives of

the revolution against any threat from whatsoever quarter is, at this stage, a responsibility which assumes an absolute priority.

We must keep such priority in mind and be permanently and continuously be ready to take the appropriate measures expeditiously no matter how important an economic project or other activities in which we might be engaged at any given moment.

Jaalleyaal:

You have adopted today declarations of great significance, you have taken political decisions, you have voiced historical calls.

The Party Central Committee and the Secretariat are expected to lead you to their execution but the implementation of such significant policy matters are your prerogative and responsibility. We shall provide a proper control but their actual execution among the masses and other party members is your task.

The administration is the instrument which we use for the implementation of our programmes, it is our technical means. Therefore, if it slows down at times we must inject it with new impetus and correct it where warranted. We should in no way move in opposition or make undue accusations to it or be diverted by an isolated shortcoming here and there which transpires.

Jaalleyaal,

We have to turn our utmost attention to work, to the scrupulous respect for the laws governing our administration and discharge our respective responsibilities accordingly.

I have referred to this matter in order to draw your attention to the law governing the powers of the regional and district Committees and their relationship with the Central Government organs.

The purpose of that law was to invest adequate powers in each district and region relative to their political and administrative responsibilities. The delegation to the regions of Plenipotentiary Representatives of the Central Committee was to further ensure the self-sufficiency of the districts and regions in administrative matters. In view of the preceding we wish to call the attention of the Central Government Organs to refrain from any undue interference and that the regions discharge their responsibilities in an effective manner. It is illogical for us to point out shortcomings for which there appears no organ to whom they could be ascribed.

The Party and Government leadership as well as the laws of the nation will be at your disposal to clarify any differences that might arise. If we all fully understand such matter and collectively and jointly cooperate towards such objective, I am confident that our next Congress will be privileged to hear numerous problems that have happily been overcome.

Jaalleyaal;

Allow me to take the opportunity at this congress to address myself to a very important matter worthy of our attention and consideration.

As you know the year 1979 has been declared by the United Nations and its specialized Agencies as the year of «children» and have called upon

all nations to formulate a plan for child care. As a matter of fact the S.D.R. ever since the advent of 21st October Revolution has spared no efforts to protect and care for «children» and has created schools and child care centres.

The S.D.R. welcomes such declaration by the United Nations, has already appointed various committees and has drawn the necessary plan which calls for execution at regional, district and family levels.

Children represent the future of every nation, therefore, it is incumbent upon the masses to gird the lions of endeavour and to approach this matter in a scientific manner.

There are several humanitarian organizations which are interested in this matter. We also have national and social organizations which are concerned with such matter. We believe, that all such efforts be united and that we initiate a national campaign for the construction of child care centres as well as to organize permanent sources of finance so that every child would be guaranteed adequate living and proper medical care.

Jaalleyaal,

It is important that we concern ourselves with the life of children for we know that not all families can provide proper care to children as well as for their education and raising them to a standard that responds to the expectations of our community. Therefore it is imperative that the Nation helps families raise them, that the society follow the conditions of the child as related to housing, nutrition, health and the education since the future of the nation lies with children.

Therefore I wish to call your attention that you should complete any remaining part of the plan in your respective regions and that you should commence such activity if you have not yet started. This should be done in accordance with the central plan and you should report your progress and activities in that regard. Further more, I wish to propose that a new centre for the October Revolutionary Flower be built, the flower whose Revolutionary spirit you have so often seen, who are imbued with profound sense of love for the motherland and who, therefore, merit

particular attention on our part for their care.

Jaalleyaal;

Finally, I would wish to mention that the 71st session of the Arab League conference might soon be held in our capital. Such event is not only a great honour which our brothers have decided to bestow upon us but indeed a serious responsibility that we should discharge with competence and efficiency. We should therefore commence our preparations for the conference forthwith.

Jaalleyaal;

I thank you for the maturity that you have shown in this congress, for the significant Resolutions which you have adopted and the strong encouragement that you have given us in the fulfilment of the policy with which we have been leading the country. A part from congratulations and wishes for bonne voyage, our conclusion could well be «Few words, hard work and proper orientation».

Long live Somalia, Long live the SRSP.



Youth ever vigilant for the country's defence.



The Extra-ordinary Congress

HAILGAN!



(THE STRUGGLE)

**ORGAN OF THE SOMALI
REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST PARTY**

- ♦ **SOMALIA AND THE YEAR
OF THE CHILD**
- ♦ **Women's Struggle: A World
Wide Perspective**
- ♦ **Mythology and history of
social consciousness**
- ♦ **is there an African Philosophy?**

Struggle to
learn, in order to
learn to
struggle better

HAILGAIN

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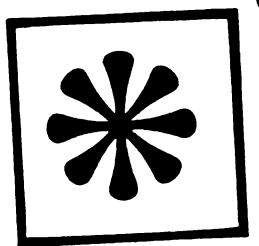
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EDITORIAL NOTE



THE PROCLAMATION ON AMNESTY

The Political Bureau of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party issued an important proclamation on amnesty following its meeting of March 24, 1979. During the session the Political Bureau received the numerous applications requesting forgiveness sent in by members of the Somali Community living abroad. The Political Bureau also took into full consideration the problems and difficult conditions encountered by the Somalis who have left the country illegally.

Given these and other considerations, the Political Bureau decided to grant full amnesty for all Somalis who have run away from the country on political or other illegal grounds. Any such element is free to return to the country knowing that he or she has been forgiven any illegalities he had committed previous to, and as a consequence of running away from the country.

This timely decision has received wide acclaim from the Somali people inside and outside the Republic. Messages of gratitude and congratulations have poured in from Somalis everywhere.

A number of those who left the country illegally did so as a result of being ignorant of or misled about possibilities of a better life abroad. Thus, as soon as they set foot in foreign countries and encountered the multiple difficulties of living away from home, they began to regret the decision they had taken blindly. A number of them are young students who hoped to find better opportunities for education abroad. A few of them did obtain an education and wish to return home to serve their country and their families, others have failed miserably in their efforts and have resolved to return. A number of such elements are former civil servants and public officials who left the country as a result of political grounds, legal and administrative issues or purely personal (family) reasons.

In any case, a great number of them sent back petitions asking for forgiveness and the general amnesty proclamation is partly a response to their requests and those of their relatives, friends and representatives within Somalia.

Is the spirit of forgive and forget implied in this amnesty proclamation a unique phenomenon? Defini-

tely not, the Somali Revolution has on several occasions in the past proclaimed generous offers of pardon and forgiveness.

We all know that political and even criminal prisoners are pardoned and freed regularly during the ceremonies that mark Revolutionary Day on October 21st of each year. This regular event has provided countless political and criminal wrongdoers with the opportunity to make amends with their past and to start life anew.

On October 21st 1978, for example, over one thousand such prisoners were pardoned and freed.

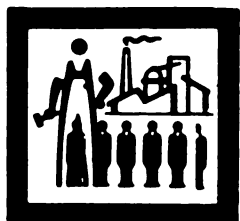
We also recall that the members of the previous neo-colonial regimes who had been imprisoned following the October 21st 1969 Revolution, had been freed and pardoned by 1973 and that many of them have since rejoined public service, some of them holding positions of very high responsibilities.

Since 1969, the Revolutionary Government has indeed enacted strict laws and meted out numerous punishments in the effort to transform Somalia from neo-colonialism towards socialism and self-reliance. Some of these laws might appear unnecessarily harsh and restrictive, at times the procedures for implementing them might have worked imperfectly, leaving a great deal to be desired.

Nevertheless, the Somali Revolution has consistently manifested its genuine concern for human rights, its profound respect for national reconciliation and national unity.

This general proclamation on amnesty marks another important milestone on the path of revolutionary transformation based on national reconciliation and unity.

Political, Economic and Social Affairs



WOMEN'S STRUGGLE : A WORLD WIDE PERSPECTIVE

By: Abdirahmen Hassan Elmi

In spite of the fact that science and technology have achieved great and effective successes in the middle of the 20th century a concrete solution has not been reached on many matters, above all in the field of social affairs. The biggest problem waiting for solution is the condition of wo-

men who are estimated to constitute half of the world population and a third of world man-power resources.

As a matter of fact, women take a prominent role in the development of social life in many states; at the sametime in many countries they are living under oppression, and inequality between men and women in rights and duties has caused backwardness to women and society in general.

Thinkers and philosophers of the world have time and again discussed and written about women and their condition in the society and disagreement on this issue have been many and various.

The Marxist point of view has linked the solution of the question of rights of women with the struggle of the international working people for liberation and social progress.

Furthermore, scientists of socialism have proved that in a society where there is no private ownership of the means

of production, no exploitation of a class by another and where the people are equal to work on production, in such a society women could truly be emancipated from centuries old oppression and backwardness. And could play a prominent role in the moral and material development of their society.

August Belbel (1840-1913) the founder of the German Socialist Democratic Party, and a Marxist thinker, wrote in 1879 a treatise on «Women and Socialism». He proved that Family relationship is always linked with the change of the mode of production. Accordingly, the social inequality between men and women has its roots in the appearance of the private ownership. At the particular period the existing

social systems stubbornly denied women's rights and favoured the continuation of oppression».

For instance, in the primitive socio-economic formation people lived in natural and communal equality and there was no social inequality whatsoever. But the transition from primitive mode of production and the beginning of the slavery mode of production (when the private property came into being) and when human society passed the stage of hunting and gathering of wild fruits, then started class disparity and exploitation. Women emancipation apart from being an integral aspect of class struggle is also linked with the specific struggle to be waged by women.



HISTORICAL CAUSES OF INEQUALITY BETWEEN MEN AND WOMEN.

Obviously, the answer to this question is rather difficult and topical and critical debates regarding this issue are going on. Hence, despite the fact that the question is difficult, the task of delving deeper into it is absolutely relevant.

As has already been stated inequality between men and women was, by and large, engendered and aggravated by the appearance of private ownership of the means of production.

But historically speaking the first division of labour was that between men and women and that contributed to the inequality between them. Due to the development of the means of production the social division of labour appeared. Division between mental and material labour, and there was a change in the needs of the individual.

Therefore, to get one's food under conditions where the instruments of labour were still primitive, physical labour and mainly manual labour, became a matter of necessity and that kind of labour was mostly done by men. For this reason the matters below laid down resulted from this fact:

1. Some aspects of labour done by men induced growth in the physical strength of men Vis-a-Vis that of women and generally men become more developed than women. This is in accordance with the findings of Engels: «Labour takes a great part in the development of physical structure and the growth of the human personality».



2. Men became essential for the family in the production of food, and surrounded themselves with awe and reverence higher than that of women and accordingly assigned women the supposedly lower activities in the home. The essence of this view is that private property first came into the hands of men, and for that reason women became the oppressed.

It is worth underlining that at the beginning men possessed wealth and the economy of the society and that vested property rights in the men.

3. In former socio-economic systems people were always in constant wars and plundering of the defeated groups and tribes was natural. Women did not participate in these wars and they used to be left to become the body of the Victorious in the war. More often than not the homely chores of taking care of the house and children took too much of the women's time.

4. In the ancient times when a man married a girl he had to pay food, livestock and other forms of wealth that he

could afford. The main reason behind that was to buy the girl's labour which he now possessed. And it was due to this that the number of live stock paid was in proportion to the strength and ability of the married girl.

Due to the transformation and development of the society, only the form changed from buying the girl as such to an honour and respect for the family of the girl, but the essence of the system remains the same.

The old system had the natural effect on compromising women's prestige and besides contributed to the continuation of women's inequality with men.

Moreover, as long as family line is derived from father which ever girls the boy marries, the offspring remain with the family of the father.

An exogamous form of marriage, however can have the natural effect of leading to a women's children belonging to a tribe hostile to the women's tribe.

5. In former socio-economic formations the reasons behind why the boy and the girl did not get an equal share in inheritance were due to the following.

a. The boy carried the name of the family.

b. The boy participated in wars that brought wealth to the family.

The socialist point of view is that social emancipation of the working class is closely connected with women emancipation. Lenin, speaking on the issue had pointed out «Proletarian emancipation will be incomplete without a corresponding emancipation for women» And this is similar to the idea of Charles Fourier (a major theoretician of Utopian Socialism) which says: That the level of the general social emancipation attained by a society can objectively be assessed by the progress made by the women population».

Scientists of socialism had also pointed out that «A socialist revolution can not last

long if women would not take a major role in its construction. The experience of world revolutionary movements has showed us that victories and swiftness of the revolution is linked with the extent women participate in it».

The socialist view is that in order to enhance women's emancipation and to quickly secure the equality between men and women, it is necessary to nationalise and socialise the economy so that women could directly become involved in social production. At the sametime, socialist principles on the liberation of women admits the necessity of waging a collective fight against the non-economic and social forms of oppression to which women are a special victim.

The participation for women in labour and social production builds their personality, enhances their activities and their political consciousness,

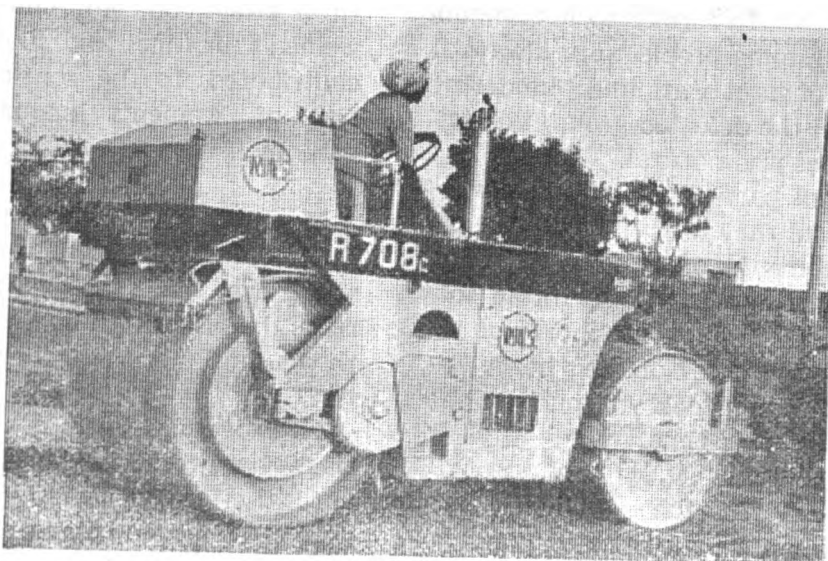
and has the consequence of making them further members of society. When we address

ourselves to the issue of equality between men and women it is the social equality but not physical equality that we are emphasising because, previously, people were equal and inequality was brought about by the changes in the social mode of production. Accordingly socialist perspectives on women's equality does not advocate the erasing of objective biological differences, between the two sexes, which naturally affects their physical capacities. However the inequalities between men and women is due more to social factors and less to physical differences between them.

The state and society are responsible of devising ways and means to free women from house labour which has no production qualities but has a social value. The most important means to solve this problem is to promote the establishment of kindergartens; particularly in areas where working population is highly concentrated (though at present this problem is not so serious in our country, nevertheless this will become increasingly relevant due to pressures of economic growth).

As is the case in Somalia, as well in others husbands do not allow their wives to continue working for the nation after they give birth to the first baby, despite the benefits accruing to them from work. And in this respect the husband gives priority to his personal interests over that of the collective thus at any early stage the Somali girls contribution to society comes to an end.

It will be strongly commendable if our women were



encouraged to go on working even after marriage. Marx made it clear that it is not only important to promise for Women's political rights, but it is more crucial to create conditions that allow them to take part in the leadership of the society.

Although political rights are given to women, their role in the development of social life is not the same everywhere, and it is always related to the level of the economic, political, social and cultural development of the country concerned, specially, its political system.

For example, in the societies of the socialist countries where there is no exploitation of man by man, women are equal with men and they take part energetically in the construction of social life. Women are really equal with men in the following fields: employment and remuneration, participation in the administration and policy-making of the country (being that of party and of the government) and the rights for social life, such as education, health and political views.

The developed capitalist countries legally proclaim the equality between men and women, but practically there is no real equality, and in their societies one can easily see that men and women are not equal to employment, remuneration, political administration of the country and generally rights for social life. In the capitalist countries women constitute one of the many forces living under exploitation, suppression unemployment and they are waging a fierce struggle against capitalist order which is the cause

of inequality between men and women.

AFRICAN WOMEN AND THE STRUGGLE FOR THE INDEPENDENCE.

Though there were no independent movements of African women before the second World War, their struggle was included in the national liberation movements waged in the African countries until political independence was realised. Today there are more than 40 independent African states. Women organization and clubs if they existed were earlier on founded on the basis and structures existing in the so called mother colonial countries.

For example, in some states in black Africa (Nigeria Ghana. Sierra Leone, Tanganika Kenya, Uganda etc) women Organizations were part and parcel of world women Organization of the capitalist countries, and they were led by women with a bourgeois upbringing. These Organizations were not allowed to interfere in political affairs and political struggle, and supposedly stayed neutral.

Nigerian women had participated in the struggle for independence, and they were active in the political conferences, strikes and demonstrations against colonialism.

In 1948, in Egba Region 20,000 women led by Ransome kuto demonstrated against the Governor Ademola II who used to openly dispossess women of their property. Women were successful to topple the Governor and to retrieve their rights.

In the popular mau mau movement of the masses of

kneya in 1952 - 1956, women took part in the Kikuyu Front which used to fight in the Ruia area, and constituted about 20% of the overall front members. Their main function was: to carry messages and to cook and distribute food.

The Algerian women took a prominent part in the liberation movement of Algerian Nation against French colonialism. Hundreds of thousands of women took arms while at the sametime nursing the child and taking care of the those injured in the liberation War.

In this context worthy of mention is Jamila Algezaria or Jamila Bohared who today enjoy world-wide reputation for their bravery and heroism.

In 1956 the unjust war carried on by British, French and Israel against the Arab Republic of Egypt, women stood side by side with men, and they took an active part in the Egyptian women organization (The Egyptian Feminist Union). They created a central committee as a liaison, first - aid groups and they enlisted in the army as well.

It is worthy mentioning here the bitter struggle which was, and still is been waged by the women of South Africa, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Eritrea, and Western Somalia and Somali Abbo.

We can take as an example the role played by the women of Western Somalia and Somalia Abbo in the just liberation war against colonialist and fascist rule of Ethiopia.

The day 24th October 1955 is an important milestone in the struggle of South Africa. In that day 20,000 women demonstrated against the apartheid rule. The demonstration was led by Lil.

lian Ngoyia, Florence Mato-mela, Helen Joseph, Carolima Mashaba and Rahima Musa. It is also worthy mentioning Winnie Mandela, the wife of the leader of the ANC Party which is well-known for her stamina and bitter struggle.

THE ROLE OF AFRICAN WOMEN AFTER THE INDEPENDENCE.

There are many changes in conditions and the role of African women after their respective countries' attained political independence and it is a fact that women as yet are denied the rights they militantly fought for.

This denial of right is inherent in the appearance of a new policy called Neocolonialism which boils down to the reduction of a country's independence to a symbolic flag independence, whereas economically, socially and otherwise colonial domination and exploitation continues unabated. Thus except for a small section of the big bourgeoisie linked intimately to imperialism, all other social groupings are discriminated against.

Though there are such hindrances the new system could not stop women's struggle for their rights, as well as as participation in the political administration, economic growth and the development of social affairs. For example statistics from international Labour Organization (ILO) of 1975, has revealed that 46 million African women are engaged in the economic development.

Women in some African countries have come into the political limelight, and are member of Government as well as elected to the Parlia-

ment, central Committee members of the Parties Ministers and heads of other higher government institution.

Among the African countries where women take a prominent part in political and social affairs are: Egypt, Mali, Senegal and Nigeria.

If we compare women workers in the Industry with those in the Agriculture we find a big difference and women engaged in farming far outnumber those engaged in industrial production. This is a natural phenomenon because it is linked with the economic and social level of development the African continent.

The number of women-workers engaged in the industrial enterprises is estimated roughly at about 15% - 25% of all industrial workers, and agricultural workers form 60% - 80% of the whole population.

In spite of the fact that colonized nations inherited problems from colonialism, it made the African continent particularly an area wallowing in ignorance and backwardness.

For example illiteracy in the countries of Central and Southern part of Africa, reached 90%. The Central Africa Republic has the worst record in this regard as only 2% of its population is literate. The statistics conducted by the United Nations Education and Scientific Organization (UNESCO) of 1975, has revealed that a majority of the illiterate in Africa are women. There are 800 Million illiterates throughout the world 500 million of these are women.

However a glimmer of hope is evidence by the progress made by the Egyptian women: in the year 1929 was the first

time girls were admitted to enter Cairo University, by the year 1952 there were 6000 girls at the University, and in 1975 there were 50,000 girls studying at different faculties of the University.

SOMALI WOMEN AND THEIR STRUGGLE.

In the late of the 19th century and beginning of 20th century when capitalism reached its highest stage, the stage of imperialism, Western States in the search for markets divided the world among themselves. Unfortunately, the Somali Nation fell into the hands of colonialism which divided it into five separate

territories, however the Somali Nation resisted courageously the invasions and attacks of colonialism.

Somali Women were in the forefront of the patriotic battles waged by the Somali Nation: The struggles of the SYL, S.Y.L. and SNL, and the blessed Revolution of 21 October 1969.

Somali women had passed through the severe rule of fascism which subjected our peasants living near the two rivers to forced labour. And the inhuman treatment in Kali.Asayle (In the Lower-Shabelle Region) and Kali-Urugow (In the Middle-Shabelle Region) where the able bodied men, children and women massacred, is an unforgettable experience. Women took part in that struggle and they gave their dear lives for the sake of liberating their beloved country from oppressive colonialist subjugation.

When speaking of the struggle of Somali women we can not forget the great heroine

Hawa Osman Tako who died on 11th January 1948 in the struggle for national independence.

Our society pays tribute and respect to gallant fighters who played an honourable role in the successive struggles of the Somali Nation.

But as was the cause with the recently liberated countries Somalia after independence in 1960, fell into the sphere of neo-colonialist influence represented by a small and opportunist group of Somalis who were connected with, and served the aims of international imperialism. This and other problems had precipitated the blessed Revolution of 21 October 1969, led by the General Secretary of SRSP, the President of Somali Democratic Republic, Comrade Mohamed Siad Barre.

The adoption of Scientific Socialism by the Somali Nation (As it stated in the 2nd charter of the Revolution in 1970) has helped the country to get rid of the economic, political and social difficulties, and to accomplish tangible successes, particularly, women have been given rights ameliorating their sorry position in traditional society.

Here all the benefits our revolution was given to Somali Women, cannot be ennumer-

ated but suffice to mention the enactment of the family Law of 11 January 1975. By this law the equal rights and duties between men and women have been realised. The objective behind this law is to improve the Somali family which is the backbone of the society. In the period which the revolution has been leading the country, women have taken an active part in the campaigns organized in the country as a whole. Some of these campaigns are: the one on eradication of illiteracy, the evaluation and settlement campaign. There were 5,000 Women teachers and students participating in the Rural Development campaign. They helped to alphabetise no less than 400,000 nomadic and peasant women living in the rural areas.

To illustrate the tremendous growth of women education it is note worthy that girls in the elementary and intermediate schools has increased between 1967-1974 by about 5000%. The number of Secondary School girls in 1966 was 134 girls, and 1974 it reached 1773 girls.

Before the Revolution there were very few girls studying at the University, but in 1974 there were more than 131 girls at the University. The role by Somalia as a Nation and

specially the participation of women in the eradication of illiteracy won her a world reputation to the extent that it has been awarded two international medals. The greatest victory achieved by Somali women is the foundation of Somali Women Democratic Organization on 8th March 1976. This was in conformity with 3rd congress of the Central Committee of the SRSP which proclaimed the recognition. A vivid example of the victory of S.W.D.O. is that the headquarters for women Development in the African Region was selected to be built in Somalia. The first Congress of S.W.D.O. which was held on 1-3 March, 1979 has taken the following decisions :-

— The implementation of the decisions taken by the extraordinary general congress of the SRSP.

— The application of the decisions taken by the congress on the national level for revolutionary administration.

— The fulfilment of the national plan and upgrading of women's level of education.

— Strengthening the programme of Rural Development Campaign.

— And to build and defend the country.

SOMALIA AND THE YEAR OF THE CHILD

— Boobe —

Pursuant to the call of the U.N.O the year 1979 has been recognized the world over as the year of the Child. It is therefore pertinent that we should say something about the care given to Somali Children and their Progress.

In addition to the projects planned for the child in improving the kindergarten schools and the centres for mothers' care much has been done to the children by the revolution.

Children are an important part of society. Therefore any progress achieved in the upbringing of children greatly affects the development of Somali society. And that is why efforts have made to improve the lot of our children and the founding of special centres even for abandoned children who spent their time in the streets. Besides this good kindergartens have been es-

tablished for the very young in age.

For the abandoned children for the first time a revolutionary centre was established at Lafole which is situated at a distance of twenty two (22) KM. from Mogadishu and the first such group to be collected and taken them from the capital.

The Revolution took a historical hand in saving the Somali Nation from the calamity of the long drought that hit the country in 1975, especially children. And it has cared for the Somali refugees who were expelled from their motherland by Abyssinian colonization following the liberation was revived and waged by the western Somali Liberation Front (WSLF) and the Somali Abbo Liberation Front (SALF). There were numerous children among the refugees.

We would like to turn our attention now to describing in detail the methods used in caring for the Somali children a proof that Somali society is transforming in every aspects, economically, politically and culturally.

DEVELOPMENT OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN.

Jaalle Siad once said, «Women are a very powerful reservoir of power that cannot be perceived bearing this in mind in trying to improve the knowledge of our women and their political consciousness so as to enable them discharge their responsibilities in national development. Progress is tied to the level of education attained in society, and therefore the necessary steps were taken in this respect and much has been consequently achieved.

Adult education plays an important role in the improvement of the knowledge of old people. That is why in the year 1969-70 180560 persons attended classes at adult schools. Of these 3188 were women. the languages of instruction were Italian, English and Arabic. But since it became clear that one could not fight illitracy with foreign it became necessary to write the Somali language.

The Somali language was declared to be the official language in 1972 after the Latin letters were adopted. Several campaigns of literacy were launched both in towns and the rural areas, this was





in the years 1972 and 1973. In these campaigns 1,577,779 were women.

To day knowledge of skills is widespread in the country and it is meant to benefit the older generation. Such knowledge is weighted in favour of home economics which is mostly present there are many schools in the regions and districts that are geared to that end. In the Educational College of Lafole the subjects of Home Economics are turned out each year. And the plan for producing such teachers will remain permanent.

The Rural Development was not merely educational. It incorporated also a health programme meant for the treatment of children and women. During the campaign 1.6 Million people were treated and 1.4 million people were vaccinated for a variety of diseases.

The number of boys and girls in the primary schools is well balanced. In the last five years the enrollment of girls in High school and colleges has increased by 140%. And today women work in all government establishments.

The situation of women has changed considerably under the Revolution, particularly since the promulgation of the law on the family and the declaration that men and women are equal in 1975. The family law parts men and women on an equal footing in regard to marital status, divorce and inheritance. The law also strongly recommends the good upbringing of children and the family in general.

FLOWERS OF THE REVOLUTION

Every country has a particular name for its children. In some countries «Boy Scouts» and «Girl Guides» are used for the organization of children. In the Somali Democratic Republic of our children are known as the «Flowers of the Revolution».

These flowers are found everywhere in the country - at quarters villages, in communities at districts regions and national levels. These children wear a white shirt, a pair of blue trousers and red handkerchief. One of the tasks of these flowers is the preparation of musical and folklore troupes.

Under these flowers come

the «Light» which are made up of small children who are taught at kindergarten schools. Under the plan of this year a new big centre is to be built. The flowers are recruited from the schools. Under the revolution the number of schools has increased tremendously. In the 1969/70 scholastic year the enrollment of children was 55021. Their overall increase is by 240550. Today more than a million children go to school.

REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH CENTRES

The Revolutionary Youth Centres have been created with an eye to caring for suffering children and therefore who need the utmost care. The first such centre was that established at Lafole by the principle of self-help in which many ministries and government agencies participated. This centre was inaugurated on 26th March, 1977 with an enrollment of seventy five children. The first children were a mixed lot in regard to age and education but later they were separated and a programme of education was adopted.

In 1971 the programme was a feasible project. The enrollment was enlarged and eight hundred (800) children were collected from the streets of Mogadishu and put in. Had it not been for these centres many children would have grown up as abandoned youth here in Mogadishu and other places. Experiences have shown that many such children are potentially useful citizens who can contribute a great deal to their country's development and their people's progress provided they are cared for conscientiously.

REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH CENTRES

Region	Locality of Revolutionary Youth Centre	1978-1979
Benadir	Lafale (Boys)	1124
Benadir	Lafale (Girls)	426
Lower Juba & C. Juba	Luglow, Yante Jilib (Kindergarten)	736 76 64
Hiran & Galgadud	Beled weyne	122
Mudug & Nugal	Gal-kayo	135
Togder	Burao	244
North Western Region	Hargeisa	324
Beri & Sanag	Qardo	130
Bay, Bakool & Gedo	Baidabo	323
Other Organizations		76
Total		3780

In the following table we would like to show the number of children living in each one of the communities:

Name of Community	Number of inhabitants	Number of children
Kurtunwaray Sablale Dujuma Barave Adale Eyl		

The 1974 drought that hit Somalia had also affected other African countries. Seeing the magnitude of the crisis of the drought, the Revolutionary Government took in hand the establishing of camps for those affected among whom there were children. Otherwise, thousands of lives would have perished. Taking into consideration the fact that the Somali people are predominantly pastoral and that most of them had been seriously affected by the prolonged drought it was decided that they should be settled in agricultural and fishing communities. These communities have grown into towns today known as Sablale, Kurtunwarey, and Dujuma where farmers are settled. The fishing communities are settled around Barave, Adale and Eyl.

The children are very much indebted to the Revolution that saved them from the serious drought which took the lives of millions of people inhabiting the African Continent. Children in Agricultural and Fishing cooperative communities go to school.

In these communities «flowers of the Revolution» Organization of small children) have been set up and reached a high standard of perfection in their activities. Previously such children led a nomadic life. But today they lead a different life in groups which are found in the various organizational units of these communities.

The Inhabitants of these communities participate collectively in self-help schemes. They have orientation centres, where in addition they learn folklore dances and music.

They also learn to use modern equipment in farming and fishing.

DROUGHT CHILDREN

In consequence of the liberation war waged by the Somali living under Ethiopian colonial rule many women and children have come as refugees. These people have been forced

to flee their country because they could not bear the atrocities they were suffering at the hands of the Abyssinian forces and their allies.

For this reason today there are special camps for such refugees in the SDR. The refugees number 145000 and 60% of these are children. The refugee camps are open at:-

CONCLUSION :-

The upbringing and the care of Somali children is part of the general progress of the social life of the Somali people. To fulfil this objective several branches of the party and the government have been made to work and contribute. On the part of the government the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Youth and Sports, the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, the custodial corps etc. have taken an active part.

On the part of the party and other social organizations the Bureau of Social affairs of the Central Committee of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party (SRSP) the Somali Democratic Women's Union and The Somali Revolutionary Youth Organization have fully participated.

REGION	CAMP CENTRE
North West	Agabar
Hiran	Jawil
Lower Shabelle	Qoroley
Gedo	Luuq

Besides the food the refugee children receive education, enjoy sports and

are given the opportunity to learn something about Somali Culture.

COMRADES;

DON'T MISS YOUR ENGLISH

ISSUE OF HALGAN EVERY

MONTH

MONTHLY BULLETIN



JAALLE SIAD CLOSED YOUTH SEMINAR

A seminar for the Working Youth Committees of the Government Institutions and private firms wound up at the Police Academy in Mogdadishu on 12 March.

The Seminar was officially closed by the Party Secretary General and President of the SDR Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre.

During the one month seminar, the participants had a thorough discussion on the achievements of the Revolution, Party Programme, National Development Plan, Social Organizations Statutes and the role of the working youth with in the National Development.

Speaking on the occasion, Jaalle Siad commended the Somali Revolutionary Youth Union (SRYU), the Working Youth Committees, the Somali Police Officers and Hegan artists who displayed a short concert depicting the history and the long struggle waged by the Somali Youth for the Independence and development of their country.

The President said that in every progressive society the youth are the most dynamic force which germinates the seeds of nationalism as well as providing prompt solution in order to overcome problems.

Jaalle Siad stated that the Somali Youth succeeded during the colonial era to



create parties in the form of organizations to enlighten the rest of the society on the sordid consequences of colonialism and at the same time called on them to unite so as to defeat their enemy, and attain their freedom and independence.

«The Somali Youth», the President added, «who have never committed a crime against their country, who are free from nepotism, jealousy, tribalism and anything that obstructs their independence and the progress of their country, will surely now undertake a constant struggle to lead the Somali society on the right path».

Jaalle Siad said that the Somali Revolution united the strength of the youth, their ideas and sense of patriotism due to its immediate recognition that the

youth are the leaders of tomorrow.

The President called on the Youth to concern themselves with the improvements of the country's economy and explain to the people how to exploit their land and sea resources. He also said the youth should be vigorous and strict in the implementation of Party resolutions and the statutes of the various social organizations and to tirelessly participate in the development programmes of the country, adding that the Revolution would reward the individual according to his/her diligence and dedication.

The President announced on the spot the promotion of Col. Aden Hersi, Commandant of the Police Academy, to Brigadier general, a move applauded by the participants.

REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH CENTRES MARKS THE 9th ANNIVERSARY

Annually, the 26th of March marks the anniversary of the founding of the revolutionary Youth Centres.

The SDR Vice-President Jaalle Major general Husein Kulmie Afrah attended a ceremony held at Lafole marking the 9th anniversary of the Revolutionary Youth Centres.

In a speech he made at the ceremony the vice-president first and foremost congratulated, on behalf of the SRSP Secretary General, all the Revolutionary Youth in the Centres of the various regions of the country on the occasion of their founding day, and wished them success and prosperity.

Jaalle Kulmie stated that the objective behind the establishment of the revolutionary Youth Centres was to take care of the destitute and desperate Somali Youth who were hitherto neglected by the previous regimes and equip them with education and political consciousness so that they could be useful and patriotic citizens.



The Vice President explained that it is the policy of the Revolution to develop

first the individual's and education so that he can serve his country and for this reason, said the Vice-president, «the Revolutionary Youth are part of the great force intended for crushing our enemies and taking part in the national leadership».



Jaalle Kulmie commended all the heads of government institutions who spared no efforts in the functioning of the centres and praised in particular the custodial forces and the teachers who jointly supervise the centres.

Earlier, the audience were addressed by the Commandant of the Custodial forces Jaalle Brig. General Ismail Ahmed Ismail who made a welcoming and reporting speech in which he explained the various activities of the centres and mentioned that there are already established centres all over the country with a total enrolment of 3780 Youth.

On the same occasion Jaalle Kulmie opened at the Lafole Revolutionary Centre a new motor and electricity



workshop and home economics school built at a total

cost of 772.00 / = So. Shillings.

THE ARAB LEAGUE MINISTERIAL COUNCIL

On the 24th of March 1979 the 71st Arab League Ministerial Council formally opened at the Peoples Hall in Mogadishu.

An opening address delivered by Jaalle Meygaag on behalf of President Siad pointed out the difficulties the Arab Nation has suffered under colonialism and various prolonged struggles they have waged in order to realize their political freedom and to safeguard their nationhood, dignity and sovereignty.

This struggle has not yet come to an end since there are still several Arab peoples who have not yet attained their Independence»; the President said adding that the present epoch marks an era in which all types of colonialism should be totally eradicated and the peoples fighting for their freedom should win decisive victories.

«The Arab Nation has today all the potentialities, it has a huge population, the resources necessary for a so-

und balance growth and integrated technology and can compell the respect of others. It has as well the importance of strategic location. But to utilize these advantages to our benefit requires the genuine minimum of Arab co-operation, which is truly typical of the Arab Nation» the President said.

On the Horn of Africa he cited the fact that the root cause of the conflict of the peoples of this region has been misrepresented by big powers who are only motivated by their strategic interests.

On the Palestinian struggle he said, «It was only in the recent past that the Palestinian struggle against Zionism was described by some as a Nazi plot to exterminate the Jewish people. Such people have called for the support of Israel which in their claim have brought progress to an area where, hitherto, Arab Feudalism has prevailed».





He added, «Today we hear some people voicing similar criticism to the Somali Liberation Movements which in their view is an imperialist plot to sabotage a so-called social progress in Ethiopia».

In a nutshell, the problem is that no country has the right to oppress other peoples and to destroy their cultural heritage with the support of Imperialism. It has been a legitimate right of every people, throughout history, to liberate themselves from foreign domination. It is the realization of this principle of self-determination and independence recognised by the Charter of the United Nations, the Arab League and the OAU that the people of Western Somali and Abbo are seeking and struggling for, the president pointed out.

President Siad in his speech referred to the recent meeting of the Extra-ordinary Congress of the SRSF which urged in several resolutions to give top priority to the learning of the Arabic Language in the country. In the full knowledge that it expresses Arab Unity and that the Somali

people are part and parcel of the Arab Nation.

The Somali Foreign Minister Jaalle Dr. Abdirahman Jama Barre who chaired the conference said that the opening of the conference coincided with a critical time when there popped up a mis understanding between some Arab countries, adding that for this reason it was essential that the participating delegations put great emphasis on settling these differences.

«It is imperative to strengthen our unity in order to overcome the problems facing our nation, without unity, it is impossible for the Arab countries

to achieve their future hopes and aspirations, on the same token it is inconceivable to destroy overnight what we been toiling at for over 30 years» he continued.

The Arab League Secretary General Mr. Mohamoud Riad who also addressed the meeting dwelt at length on the prolonged struggle waged by the Arab Nation for its unity through a «Constant Arab Cooperation», and added that member states have jointly scored various victories in their efforts towards the creation of the Non-aligned Movement, support for the the world particularly those in Africa and the role they have played in forgoing closer links between the Arab governments and the European Common Market and African Countries.

The Chairman of the Arab League Council, Somali Foreign Minister Dr. Abdirahman Jama Barre officially closed the 71st Conference on 25th March at the People's Hall, in Mogadishu.

At the closing ceremony he extended profound thanks to the various delegations.



ns who attended the conference for collaborating with him in the execution of the conference's activities which he said, has ended in «success and good understanding».

Delegates from Bahrain and Morocco expressed their deep gratitude and thanks to the Somali government and people for the cordial hospitality accorded to conference participants and for providing an impressive atmosphere which they said contributes to Arab efforts in forging closer links, co-operation and Unity.

«On behalf of the Bahrain delegation, I would like to extend my heartfelt thanks to the President of the SDR Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre, whose hospitality, statemanship and wise guidance shall ever remain in my memory» said Sheikh Mubarak, Bahrain foreign Minister. The Moroccan minister of state for foreign affairs Mr. Adulrahman Badou on his part said, «I am glad that this Arab conference is convened in this beautiful country which is a strong-hold for freedom

struggles characterised by strong abhorance of imperialism.

I wish the Somali people success in their bitter struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism. There is no doubt that the Somali people with the support of Arab and friendly countries will emerge victorious in its legitimate struggles.

The Arab League Council's conference held in Mogadishu from March 24-25 adopted numerous resolutions the most important of which are:

— To strengthen Afro-Arab economic co-operation, the Secretary Generals of the Arab League and OAU should contact each other and fix a date for the convening of the Afro-Arab Ministerial Council Conference, the proposed Afro-Arab labour Ministers conference to be held in Senegal.

— The conference also called for the intensification of Arab opposition toward Israeli policy concerning the holy city of Jerusalem.

— It approved resolutions passed by the Information Ministers in Baghdad from 27th to 28th of January this year.

— It also agreed on an Iraqi proposal calling for the expulsion of Israel from the International Posts Union.

— The conference passed numerous resolutions and recommendations on the Palestinian cause.

— The conference, due to the high value attached to service rendered by Dr. Mohamoud Riad, Arab League Secretary General, during his term in office, has recommended the continuation of his work and requested him to withdraw his resignation in the light of the current critical circumstances in the Arab world.

The Council extended its thanks and appreciations to the President, government and the people of Somalia for successfully hosting the conference and for according the participants a warm welcome.

ARAB ENERGY CONFERENCE

The five-day Arab Energy Conference, the first of its kind, which closed on 8 March in Abu Dhabi, UAE ended in a cordial atmosphere and concluded with important resolutions beneficial to the Arab Nations, said SDR Minister of Water and Mineral Resources Jaalle Dr. Hussein Abdulqadir Kasim.

In an interview with newsmen following his return

from Abu Dhabi, the Minister stated that the most important article of these resolutions was the one which called for all the Arab countries to have a united policy with the objective to utilize their raw materials in the best way and for the interest of the Arab Nation.

Another important resolution of the conference said Jaalle Dr. Hussein con-

cerned ways by which the oil producing Arab countries unable to produce raw materials would be able to cope with the sky-rocketing goods in the world. And for this purpose, a special com-
lope with the sky-rocketing prices of conference, added Dr. Hussein.

During his stay in Abu Dhabi, the Minister delive
(Continued on page 24)

CULTURE AND ART



Somali Mythology and consciousness

RASHID SH. ABDULLAHI

It is an established historical reality that human thought is in a constant process of development. The human mind is in consistent touch with the outside world surrounding him and its marks are left behind. Direct action on the surrounding environment is the source of consciousness, the activities of the brain and thought. Such reality does not occur as a result of a single person's action, for human action is collective and the life of human beings is social. Man's actions take place in a definite concrete reality. If farming is carried out land, soil seeds and the power of equipment, are needed. Such actions are motivated by a certain thought but such action gives birth to consciousness and knowledge. Whenever man's actions become more profound and the tools used improve, and man's capacity in changing his environment increases and the methods applied become more intensive man acquires more ideas and knowledge. Any new thought or knowledge is progress on former ideas entertained in the past and on an existing knowledge, and such accumulation of knowledges is an improvement on general human knowledge. Any progress on knowledge is a coming nearer to truth, as it were to reality, nature and the history of human society.

The scientific method and the mental approach which is the main pillar of modern human knowledge is a historical

reality that has been fashioned out of the progress and development of the social life of today. The accumulation of human knowledge and its improvement in regard to the environment and society has reached unprecedented levels in discovering invisible forces and has enabled man to discard superstition. It has explored the unknown with a scientific mind and with great objectivity.

But the fact remains as we have already said that the present stage of development of knowledge in the environment and social life has been preceded by a very long journey. Such knowledge is the distillation of particular human experience in the concrete realities of the environment and social life.

For thousands of years man lived in primitive society and his means to grapple with nature were very poor indeed.

Viewed from another angle the problem was not so much that man was in short supply of material goods as the fact that his consciousness was low and his knowledge very poor in regard to the world and society. In other words primitive man was in an ignorant relationship with his environment.

Man at that stage of development lived in a smaller social unit. The means of production of such a group could not earn for man more than his daily bread. Therefore

man was helpless in the face of nature and he would not do much to change it.

Man was confronted with immense difficulties whenever he tried to do something. His very existence was jeopardized. He saw with his own eyes uncontrollable typhoons and destructively flooding rivers. He experienced droughts and other natural calamities. He came into contact with epidemics and his life hung by a thread because of the catastrophe of disease, beasts or vermin.

Life itself was in obscurity. No one knew where life had come from. Who created it? Where is it destined to? No one could answer. Man's existence was itself another mystery. Where did we come from and who made us were great puzzles. No one knew anything about all this. Moreover man's birth, his strength, and his mind, his aging and his death were mystifying questions.

Under the circumstances such a type of man who lacked not only the material means but a scientific mind could not but live in speculation. But he could not have peace of mind until he could find the answers to all such problems of life.

Life in primitive times could not but be something like a dream and the difficulties we have mentioned had been solved somehow.

THEORETICAL ISSUES

IS THERE AN AFRICAN
PHILOSOPHY

(- BAYR -)

It may well be bewildering for a good number of us to come across a question as the one above posed. But then in the honest belief of the present writer, to ponder this question is a useful exercise for a number of good reasons. To begin with Africa which has just recently emerged from the colonial era is in a process of rediscovering its past, particularly that aspect of its glorious past which in some way or the other can answer certain fundamental questions relevant to the paths to be charted out in our future social progress. Philosophy as an important form of social consciousness is one of the important areas to take up and shed light on. Apart from the idea above expressed, the relevance of the question lies in the significance of refuting and rebutting certain falsehoods and distortions which these days are being peddled by a number of so called Africanist philosophers, both black and white, who are vociferously advocating the existence of a purely African philosophy which in no way is related to, nor influenced by, other philosophies. Hence these Africanist scholars are trying to convince us that African social development, both in its material and spiritual dimensions, has followed a specifically different mainstream *Vis-a-Vis* that of other peoples. Accordingly taking their arguments to their logical conclusion, every nation or people

constitute a single cell, capable of its separate development, and as it were impervious to the process of interaction, which a natural historical viewpoint of the regularities and recurrence of human evolution seems to imply. However before a hasty & final judgement is passed on the Africanist conception of a separate African philosophy is given the rebuff it decidedly deserves, let us give a reasonable expose of its contents. What is African Philosophy?

We select three scholars who have rendered efforts to elaborate on the nature, content and scope of African philosophy. The first scholar whose ideas we will dwell on is Jahn, who takes African literature, and thus language as the point of departure in the explanation of African philosophy. He puts forward 4 main categories in African philosophy: 1) «Muntu», which includes human beings, both living and dead-the concept of god and everything else that is endowed with intelligence» 2) «Kintu» covering, forces which cannot act for themselves» without the conscious action of a «Muntu» on them, such are plants animals, minerals, tools and other creatures.

3) Hantu, the category of space and time. 4) Kuntu» a model concept where beauty, laughter, sorrow, etc; reside. Advancing from there-on Jahn proposes that all these 4 cate-

gories contain a force, called «ntu», which is a universal force and cannot be found without its manifestations i.e Muntu, Kintu, Hantu, and Kuntu, in other words «Ntu» is being itself. Master Jahn to prove his supposedly startling and original idea goes to all kinds of extremes to discover his categories, and their manifestations, in the concrete living objects. Since we shall take up his categorisation later, suffice to note now that linguistic analysis of modes of thinking is one of the many European schools of philosophy.

The second scholar distinguishing himself in the sacred advocacy of African philosophy is J. Mbiti, a pious Christian, and a practised pastor. He starts with the African concept of time, which he divides into two major periods: the *sasa*, the now period and the *Zamani* the past period. J. Mbiti insists that the *Sasa* and *Zamani* do not fully coincide with the English equivalents of present and past, and furthermore have the peculiar characteristics of containing within themselves all the tenses relating to the future, the present and the past. With the help of complicated somersaults and Juggling with tenses, Mbiti ends up treating the concept of time as the general concept of history itself thereby qualifying to explain the whole span of human (African) life. Inasmuch as our pious pastor admits that Afri-

can time proceeds from the present to the past, he is inevitably drawn to the conclusion that traditional African society had no conception of a future. A logical corollary of Mbiti's ideas is the absolute denial of social progress of African societies. As he states, «In traditional African thought, there is no concept of history moving forward, towards a future climax». Mbiti bases this conclusion of his on an argumentation to the effect that the future does not exist beyond few months, and being so cannot usher in a golden age other than that attained under the Sasa and Zamani. Before one can go into an exhaustive critique of Mbiti, it is relevant to point that Mbiti simply states the obvious, that is he glorifies the static nature of the traditional communal of production obtaining in Africa, and the unchangeable. Mbiti draws on this relative unchangeability and absolutifies it into a truth of all ages. From the principle laid down by the likes of J. Mbiti the idea of portraying the African as a noble savage to be saved from the harmful ill-effects of progress gains credence and respectability.

Leaving J. Mbiti in his denial of a future progress we go onto the ideas propagated by professor Mazisi Kunene, a well-educated African, who has frequented the European corridors of knowledge, but who, it seems has gained nothing else but a deep despise for everything European, except may be to write in their languages, and dress like them. Professor M. Kunene is an extreme partian for our African philosophy and imputes to it unique superior characteristics over other philosophies. Once again he treats philosophy as a mode of thinking embod-

ying certain eternal, and immutable principles. Accordingly Professor views the essence of African thought as derivable from the communal structure of African societies. As an example he takes Zulus to throw light on the nature of this essence: the social structure of the Zulu demands and receives from the individual.

1. Heroism and self-sacrifice, on behalf of the community. Hence the heroic epic;

2. Functional as opposed to abstract thinking, the latter being a property of Western Societies, and as such alien to the African mind; and

3. A friendly attitude towards other people even those not belonging to your community. «Since the African translates external realities into terms of his immediate relations within his social group, he does not generally consider the world outside his immediate experience to be composed of hostile (abstract or mythological) forces».

Professor Kunene elevates the above principles gleaned from Zulu (African) life experience into the eternal laws of society which their literature, as well as other facets of their life commomorate and contain. Further professor Kunene in his pride of the concreteness and down to earthiness of African philosophy pours cold water on the excessive abstractness of European philosophy as reflected in the concepts such as infinity, universe, space and time, motion, etc. On infinity, he states. «There could be no infinity as an abstraction, but a series of concrete existence stretching to no end». Here professor Kunene comes into full agree-

ment with Pastor J. Mbiti, and he advances on the latter by taking up a number of philosophic categories such as the circle and relating to it, «the idea of the family, of time division of periods of existence of the very shape and form of the universe. Even the circular structure of his (the African's) house emphasised this philosophy». In the more detailed elucidation of his philosophy Kunene undertakes to shed light on the basic categories of his outlook, as far as he is concerned world philosophy originated in Africa, the subject matter of African philosophy is functional, and not so much abstract. Almost all philosophical categories, such as motion, and its by products seem to be reduced to functionality. Kunene's distaste for abstraction smacks and could well be inspired by Leopold Senghoro's famous statement, «Reason is Greek as emotion is African». It is rather strange and infuriating to find African scholars going to such lengths in drawing a despicable picture of their people by questioning their ability to engage in rational thinking. This is a sure proof that this Africanist scholars in their advocacy of a separate and unique African philosophy are adopting a metaphysical and idealistic methodology, in as much as they see only one aspect, one dimension of reality. Instead of a dialectical interconnection of reason and emotion contributing to philosophical principles; only emotion is made to be the only pillar of African philosophical cognition. The funny thing is our Africanist scholars who waste a lot of ink on the African's lack of philosophical abstraction themselves use a lot of idealistic abstractions,

(Continued on page 24)



BOOKS AND DOCUMENTS

MESSAGE OF THE GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE SRSP AND PRESIDENT OF THE THE SDR, ON OPENING SESSION OF THE 71st ARAB LEAGUE COUNCIL MEETING

Your Highnesses and Excellencies, Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Arab Countries;

Your Excellency Secretary-General of the Arab League; Your Excellencies, Members of the Delegations;

It gives me great pleasure to welcome you, on behalf of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party, the people and the Government of Somalia, to your second country which was looking forward to this moment. With deep feelings of sincerity we wish success to your august assembly and glory to the Arab Nations.

The Arab Nation, since it faced the great challenge of colonial occupation by foreign powers in the last century has been in strength struggle for its political independence, national existence and dignity. This struggle has taken many forms and passed through different stages. Sometimes there were setbacks and our people have suffered a lot, shedding the valuable blood of their sons. But history has proved that the peoples' revolutionary liberations always end in victory. And thus our peoples have attained their independence one after the other in circumstances much more difficult those we are facing today.

But the liberation struggle has not ended, for there are Arab peoples struggling for their political independence such as the Palestinian people,

and there are Arab lands still occupied: The Golan heights, Sinai, Jerusalem which is the second holy place of Islam. The road before us for the completion of the cause of freedom is, therefore, long and difficult and full of obstacles. Historical experience has also shown that the liberation process is very complicated and demands high sacrifice. For after a century of resistance to colonialism we are still at the beginning of the road. But we are confident that this era is the age of wiping out of colonialism and that all Arab countries will sooner or later become independent.

The Arab Nation has today all the prerequisites of strength: it has a huge resources necessary for a wellbalanced integrated and developed economy, the financial capacity to absorb technology and compel the respect of others, as well as the importance of an strategic location. But to utilize all these advantages to our benefit requires the necessary minimum of Arab co-operation, which is truly spirit of the Arab nation. Differences in opinion may be wide and apart and difficult to reconcile, the local and international circumstances may be very complex and confidence may be vaning.

But we should always keep in mind that our interests and destiny are one, and that we can do for one another more

than the enemy can harm us. Therefore patience, tolerance and a long-term strategic outlook are the means that can carry us through the various crises without much sacrifice.

One of the factors of our internal strength is the support we give to the Arab League. Born out of the difficulties and to face the difficulties, it is today the only avenue for exercising our will to overcome the challenges and meet the future with prepared plans in order to realize economic and cultural integration as well as eventual political unity. This unity is a formidable force that can play a very important part in transforming international relations towards world co-operation, peace, stability and human solidarity.

Your presence today with us gives us the opportunity to explain again the problem of the Horn of Africa which has been so often distorted. The propaganda of the superpowers had succeeded in enveloping a great mass of smokescreen on the problem so much so that the truth got almost hidden from many people. These superpowers in their competition for spheres of influence and strategic areas for world domination do not hesitate to exploit local conflicts, thereby throwing aside all notions of humanity, justice, self-determination, and national sovereignty.

It was only in the recent past when some people were describing the struggle of the Palestinian people against Zionism as a NAZI plot to destroy the jews, and depicting the Arabs as feudal sheikhs who deserve to be enlightened by the civilized jews who were bringing the message of democracy and social progress from Europe. And as such they advocated the support of Israel so as to eliminate British imperialism from the Middle East.

Today we find some who pose similar criticism to the Somali National Liberation Movement. According to them it is an imperialist plot to destroy the so-called social revolution in Ethiopia. It is pertinent to ask: did the Somali Liberation Movement ever compromise with the imperialist-backed despotic feudal regime headed by Haile Selassie? How many uprisings had taken place in Western Somalia and Abbo? Didn't the Ethiopian aggression against the Somali Republic of 1964 represent a futile attempt to suppress this movement? Are the uprisings of 1948 against Ethiopian occupation and those of 1954 and 1955 against the cession of Somali Territory to Ethiopia forgotten? Wasn't the resistance led by the great fighter Mohamed Abdillah Hassan from 1900 to 1920 against Ethiopian and other colonial powers a national revolution, in the full sense of the word?

The problem, in a nutshell, is that no country has the right to occupy other people's land and with the support of colonialism, to impose its will on others and thereby destroy the material, cultural and human prerequisites of their

existence. To rise against occupation and national oppression and rectify historical wrongs is a legitimate matter. The people of Western Somalia demand their right to self-determination, to reclaim their humanity and national dignity, and to establish their independent existence. It had been a legitimate right for all peoples throughout history to repulse foreign occupation. It is the observance and application of this principle internationally recognised and enshrined in the charters of the United Nations, the Arab League and the Organisation of African Unity, that people of Western Somali and Abbo demand in their national cause. All the amassed weapons, false agreements and concentrated propaganda cannot deter the will of a people determined to liberate itself.

The Eritrean question is not very much different from that of Western Somali: here we find a people whose territory had been occupied and integrated into Ethiopia without its will, and who had been shedding its blood generously for the cause of liberation for the last fifteen years. No force on earth can suppress the will of the brave Arab people.

We call upon our brothers to give their attention to this midst, not to watch as bystanders the process of elimination of whole peoples entirely. The cause of liberation is indivisible and the question of the Horn of Africa is going to affect our interests, dignity and existence, irrespective of our wishes.

This is a good opportunity for the Somali people to meet with you to restrengthen the bonds of brotherhood, as it is also a good occasion to exchange points of view on the co-operation in various fields

between the Somali Democratic Republic and the other members of the League.

I hope for your respected meeting every success as hope enjoyable stay for you in Somalia. I regret that you are meeting in Mogadicio in one of our hottest seasons and there is no doubt that you are tired as a result of the long travel, and that you have a long agenda to finish in a limited short time. Despite these shortcomings, I hope the short time you stay with us will be accompanied with successful achievements in your work as well as good memories from Somalia which has all the respect for the other Arab peoples as well as the role of the League in uplifting the Arab Nation.

Time will not allow to report on the achievements in this country in the various fields of economy, culture and social progress in the most difficult of circumstances. Though we started from a very low stage, yet our Revolution is continuing with undaunted will the road of progress it has charted and which was given concrete shape by the latest Extra-Ordinary Congress of the Party held in January this Year.

It is worth mentioning here that some of the resolutions of the Extra-Ordinary Congress emphasized the marshalling of efforts to extend Arabization and giving the Arabic language its proper place as the only link between the peoples of the Arab Nation.

Moreover, the proposed constitution accepted by the congress that will be submitted to a national referendum this year stipulates Arabic as an official language and regards the Somali people as an

inseparable Part of the Arab Nation. In this connection contacts between our Government and the League Educational, scientific and cultural Organisation (ALESCO) are continuing to lay the institutional foundations for Arabization.

In addition to all this, the economic relations between Somalia and some members of the League have developed excellently with the consequent spread of joint venture concerns which we consider as an essential stepping stone to complete Arab economic

integration.

Finally, while wishing you every success may I extend to you the deep respects of the Somali people, as I hope you will relay to your Heads of states my greetings; wishing for them long life, and victory for the Arab Nation.

(Continued from page 21)

in so far abstraction is a method of generalising separate phenomena and processes. But more of this in the pages to come, for the time being. Let serve our reader more delicacies the sweet dishes from professor Kunene's table.

Professor Kunene in his worship of all things African, and in his engulfin dis-illusionment with anything European goes on to beautify the the healing effects of African dance. He finds a mysterious quality in a movement such as dance. He states that a sick person is cured by inducing a movement in him; that

is, «by making him dance in a normal setting». The cure as he further argues comes from, «a re-establishment of the balance in the human situation». Movement as done in a dance therefore becomes symbolic of the person's relationship with society, he concludes. Since our criticism of the whole edifice of Africanist philosophy will appear in a later article we can only state that Kunene's remarks on the healing efficacy of dance can justify all backward looking and hindbound practices by imputing to them a scientific respectability that modern Africa cannot stomach. In a terse answer

to professor Kunene to stamp out all diseases from the face of African continent all we have to do is organise a chain of dance clubs where all the sick will be admitted free of charge. As for our Somali society the Saar (Mengis) practices will have to be readopted on a wide scale. Our disparaging remarks against professor Kunene's conception is not so much directed against dances as such, and any healing effects it may well contain, but is primarily directed against the philosophical poverty embodied in Kunene's outlook to the nature of the African society.

(Continued from page 18)

red a message from the SDR President to the President of the UAE, Sheikh Zaid Bin Sultan Alnahyan.

Dr. Hussein also participated in the extra-ordinary conference, held in Kuwait, for the mediation of the Arab Foreign Ministers Con-

flict between the two Yemens.

Speaking about the resolutions of this conference the Minister stated that an agreement was reached upon setting up a Supervisory Committee which

would oversee the implementation these resolu-

tions.

Dr. Hussein also held talks concerning strengthening Kuwait government officialing bilateral relations with als.



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**SPEECHES OF THE GENERAL
SECRETARY OF THE SRSP ON THE
OCCASION OF 1st AND 15th OF MAY.**

**Rural Development Campaign:
its Literacy Dimension**

**The Mogadisho Session of O.A.U.
Labour Commission**

Lebanon: Target of Israel aggression.

Struggle to
learn, in order to
learn to
struggle better

HAILGAIN

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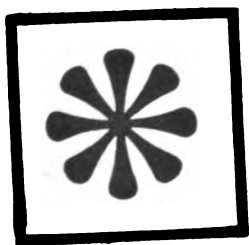
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EDITORIAL NOTE

Be Ever Victorious

Each nation has its own distinct historical dates which differ it from other nations' histories. These dates are annually commemorated and as such remain an idelible ones.

Somalia like other nations has certain distinct historical dates. Such dates are observed with all grandeur of honour and respect. Thus 12 April is the day of the Somali National Army founded nineteen years ago. This army has always shown its readiness to defend and safeguard to the national sovereignty of the nation from within and without.

In retrospect through out the history of the Somali nation its forces has always been alert for the defence of its freedom and independence. This was true about the force of Ahmed Guray in the 16th Century, that of sayed Mohamed Abdalla Hassan, at the beginning of the 20th century and the recent history of the Somali national liberation movements of SYL, SNL and USP. All of them were Somali movements dedicated to the sacred cause of the somali nation.

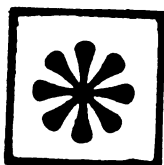
Specifically, the Somali National Army was established in 12 April 1960. It is an army whose ranks and files are the true sons and the daughters of the toiling masses of somalia. However, before the nine years preceding the glorious Revolution of 21 October 1969 its role within the context of nation building was a limited one. This was due to the neo-colonial situation prevailing in the Country.

It is to be noted however, that the somali national army was headed by progressive and nationalist officers who were dedicated to the sacred cause of the Somali nation. Hence being the only viable and organised group in the society they staged the glorious Revolution of 21 October 1969 under the wise leadership of Jaalle siad. Subsequently, the toiling masses of somalia gave them overwhelming and wholehearted support.

Since then, they have taken a lion's share in the secio economic schemes intended far the development of their country. Furthemore, they have taken an active role in the previous Campaigns of the revolution such as, fighting against tribalism, maladministration, nepotism, praising the value of work and labour, dissemina-

tion of the ideology of scientific socialism, illiteracy Campaign, rural development, and resettlement of the drought affected people, assisting the liberation movements of WSLF and SALF etc.

In conclusion the Somali National Army is a people's army dedicated to safeguarding the national sovereignty and the independence of the somali nation. It is an army which is vigilant for the defence of the gains achieved by 21 October Revolution of 1969 against the diabolical designs of imperialism and internal reaction. The somali national army in the execution of its noble tasks has the entire support and the admiration of the somali nation. Forward ever Backward Never.



On 15 May

It has become the catchword of the World at large that the youth are the flowers of today and the force of the future. And indeed, they represent a vital force whose role in the world societies can not be underestimated. For instance, the youth proved to be a dependable force of European society in its cultural and economical aspects. Likewise, the force of the youth was very indispensable in overcoming the critical situations faced in the development of American society (the environment of the society, the historical struggles such as the civil war, and in spreading and innovations).

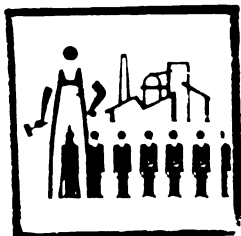
In many of the Revolutions that have taken place in the world, the youth were among the front ranks of the struggles, If we glance at the contemporary period, when the capitalist countries were mislead by power illusions and attempted to turn back the wheel of history and to dominate the rest of the world by force, it was the youth of the two camps who bitterly opposed and demonstrated against such moves. When American imperialism for example, tried to invade South-East Asia through repressive force the groups that strongly opposed and protested against such policies were American youth and in general the youth of the World; while in the battle fields those who challenged American militarism in the front lines were the youth of the Vietname, Cambodia, Laos and of others similarly placed.

During the imperialist domination of the African continent, the forces who severely opposed and resisted colonialism were the youth. The reason why the youth play such vanguard roles in the social struggle is that they often can not accept the machinations and lies perpetuated in oppressive society and the perverted policy so to bring the people to the service of imperialist interests. The youth often processes zeal and great enthusiasm, boundless

energy and a willingness to make self-sacrifices for the welfare of society.

All these positive signs were seen in the commitments of the Somali youth who, in every stage of our history, pioneered in the realization of a society free from colonialism, a society which transcends the pressures, burdens of the phenomena of neo-colonialism, a society whose patriotic enthusiasm and unity leads it to self-sufficiency, equality and higher consciousness. Moreover, we have seen these positive signs in the active and revolutionary spirit of the youth who executed the plans and the ideology of the 21st October Revolution: In the case of defending constantly the fruits of the revolution or the implementation of numerous and various campaigns for speeding up the development of the Somali masses. Today a greater number of the youth who are consistent in their protracted struggle for the development of the Somali people, consistent in their search for the good will and cooperation with the rest of the masses of the World, as the October Revolution entails: such youth are numerous in the schools, the faculties of the University, working centres, among the party cadres and within the social organizations. We can expect to find among them confused and floundering elements due to the lack of consciousness, experience or due to the chains of out-dated traditions and customs. Likewise, we can expect to find among them element whom impatience leads them to make slip or end up in an outlook which they did not fully grasp or a policy which they did not analyse fully and concretely. Sometimes all these symptoms represent the growth and stages of experience which lead to maturity of the individuals concerned.

In this month of May, on May 15th precisely, we are celebrating with the Somali Youth and their organization, the Somali Revolutionary Youth Union (SRYU) and commemorating with them the long history which they inherited from the former generations whose struggle bore our freedom. We congratulate them for their unity and wish them greater strength to harness the forces of nature which are hindering the construction of their future (the Land), to gain greater ability in organizing their ranks and to correct and accept their comrades who deviate from the path, as well as to gain higher consciousness and experience offered by the contemporary World.



Political, Economic and Social Affairs

THE RURAL DEVELOPMENT CAMPAIGN: ITS LITERACY DIMENSION

INTRODUCTION:- Rural Somalia plays a dominating role in the Somali economy and as such its development ought to enjoy utmost priority. Without harnessing the rich potentialities of the rural sector of our economy, the process of capital accumulation, which favourably contributes to economic growth, will be jeopardised. The livestock sector which still produces over 60% of our state budget, thus far plays a dominating role in our economic life, and accordingly in the search for optimal utilization of resources, it ought to be given the priority it deserves. But optimisation of economic inputs is not a matter of quantitative adding up, but a qualitative development of all factors that contribute to economic growth. Both technical and social factors are to be taken into account.

In this regard, in the rural development campaign the importance of the human element was distinctly brought out.

It is a must to improve the active and conscious makers of history, i.e. the masses of people who in the Somali context, are none else but the over 70% nomads and subsistence agriculturalists scattered over the length and breadth of the 650,000 sq. kms that is the Democratic Republic of Somalia.

The second point is the writing of the Somali language, and the adoption of a script in 1972 with the official implementation of the decided policy in 1973. From then on, the Somali Language became the official language, used by the administrative machinery of the state, and it is now being extensively introduced into the schools, to the level of the secondary schools. We would never have dreamed of eradicating illiteracy through English and Italian, the two official languages hitherto used.

In other words, a genuine rural development campaign would not have been made possible by two foreign languages, not having deep roots in the Somali soil. Over and above this, the writing of the language rid us of the regional, cultural and language divisions and animosities that the neo-colonial regime used to the maximum to keep us politically ineffective to overthrow it.

Thanks to the writing of our mother tongue, the richness of our traditional culture could be regained and tapped, while allowing us to develop our culture naturally and at its own pace. This also enabled us to put a stop to the cultural imperialism that the neo-colonialist languages symbolised.

Two stages of historical



development of our written language are to be recognized:

a) The campaign to teach Somali to government civil servants for a period of three months. Thereafter they were examined and the majority of them passed.

b) The urban campaign, i.e. teaching the towns people how to read and write and their examination thereafter.

The relationship between the State and nomads.

The relationship between the state and the nomads, has a number of dimensions, and its nature and scope is definitely set by the ideological thinking of the governing power, vis-à-vis the subjects it is governing. What is beyond doubt is the continuous conflict

and clash of interests existed between the colonial governing powers and the nomads. 4 Laws on proprietary ownership of land also aggravated the relationship between the Government and the nomads. Add to this the fact that the methods the colonialists used to collect blood price (Diya) was at times tantamount to forcible appropriation of nomads' property. A number of incidents manifestly show how grave and antagonistic the state of affairs between the governing colonial powers, on the one hand and the nomads, on the other, have become. All in all, the points I am driving are that:

a. The relationship between the state, & the nomads in its colonial form, has seldom been cordial. This basically turned upon the easily provable fact that colonial policies were seldom initiated to be for the welfare of the nomads, and even if they were, such as the case of the campaigns to eradicate locusts, communication was so bad, and the credibility gap so great, that the nomads were usually hostile.

b. The above relationship often was a recipe for mutual distrust and suspicion.

The nomads did not fully cooperate with the colonial powers in the execution of policies, irrespective of the colonial arguments to the contrary.

Were the Governments of 1960-69 able to solve the above two points, and in their place build up a relationship based on mutuality and cooperation between the nomads and the state? In point of fact, experience shows us that the re-

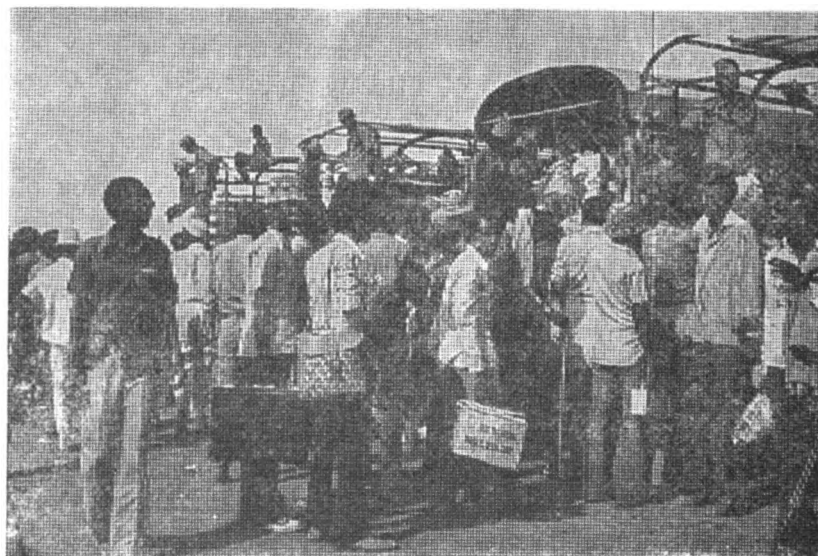
lationship essentially remained the same, only the colour of the person to the person to be distrusted became the same as that of the suspicious and distrustful nomad. And the nomad did have ample reasons to distrust the governing powers, since all that the then ruling Government did was to make empty promises regarding the digging of water wells, and the provision of medicine for them and their animals. True to their style, these promises used to be made at election times, and as spontaneously made, they were as spontaneously broken. This only had the predictable effect of firmly deeply rooted the existing latent suspicions of all state machinery.

The Literacy Side of the RDC

In August 1974 over 20,000 Students from the third year of the Secondary School down to the 6th grade of the intermediate, were sent out to different regions of the Somali Democratic Republic. In the regions they were further divided to go to different districts, villages and subsectors. Their assigned task was to teach the newly introduced Somali alphabet to the thousands of

nomads and subsistence agriculturalists, who never before had the luck of even having the rudiments of knowledge, least of all knowledge, associated with their life and environments.

The students, besides a blanket, a textbook, a register, a pencil, a pen, a small water-container, a chalk-eraser, and an all purpose blackboard in the form of a box, were each provided with the the Rural Development Campaign book. With this armament the young soldiers went into the little-familiar interior of the country. To most of them it was the first time that they ventured out of the relatively glamorous and peaceful Mogadishu. The new world they found themselves in was uncharted, untamed, sometimes waterless, and had a greater, more deadly enemy-ignorance. Perhaps some of them felt acutely afraid to go on fighting like the soldiers of commander, Tarik Ibn Ziyad who for the occupation of Gibraltar, had to address them: «The sea is behind you, and the enemy in front, there is refuge, and no where to run to». The same did happen in our case. For the discouraged and dispirited, who wavered to storm heavens, the fact



that the vast majority of the Somali people were behind them and wishing them all success, edged them onward to ultimate fulfillment.

The literacy campaign was not only the technical affair turning upon how to alphabetise the predominately nomadic and subsistence agricultural section of the Somali population.

Augmenting this and forming.

On equally integral portion was the socially transformative role which the campaign was expected to play in changing the attitudes, values, norms and habits of the majority of Somalia's population.

This alphabetisation dimension constituted the *raison*

d'être of the campaign. Having succeeded in the alphabetisation of the Government employees, and subsequently launching an urban literacy campaign; it was logically imperative to take a step further and launch the rural development campaign. A glance at the standard book of «Rural Development» will show us that the fundamental aim, first of all, was familiarising the people with their new form of alphabet. Over and above this, the lessons of the book as one proceeds on become a little bit more complicated. But best of all, the lessons are made to correspond with the real life of the people, e.g. the lessons related to the nomadic and agricultural life, which forms the basis of their material livelihood. Praise is due to the Ministry of Education, Lafolle College of Educa-

tion, and the teachers who framed the lessons that way. What is also apparent is that the lessons are made in such a way as to introduce new and elementary scientific thinking into the lives of the nomads

Thus the lessons are development-oriented, which is in consonance with the aims and objectives of the socialist oriented society.

The student teachers adopted the classical technique of teaching, which is direct teacher student relationship, in the form of the teacher using the black board as the means of communicating and transmitting knowledge to his students. With the nomads this was the best technique. It was the first time that our interior people really became students in the modern sense of the word. Formerly, whatever education gained was imparted in the traditional manner of oral transmission, perhaps with the exclusion of Qoranic teaching, which for the lucky few constituted the only education to speak of. Closeness of the teacher student relationship, essentially being informal and highly personal worked magic in the initial stages of the educational process.

There was no classification of the literacy students on the basis of sex or age, all who attained a reasonable age of learning the alphabet and were enrolled for the literacy classes.

Two main sociological groups were to be taken into account regarding our rural society, i.e. nomads and subsistence agriculturalists. Adult literacy, thus, has to cater to



the specific needs of each. Over and above this, since in the future it is more likely that we will embark more upon limited and protracted kind of literacy campaign, it is recommendable to consider: both age and sex variations as well as the subcultural variations. This is exemplified by this cultural variations in some parts of Bay, Bakool, Lower Shabelle and Juba areas.

Social transformation as a result of the RDS

If at all an explanatory note is needed for the transformational role that the campaign played, or is likely to play in the future, the point of departure, should be the attitudinal change which the campaign had on all those who participated in it. The literacy campaign constituted a vast arena, which for the first time opened up a dialogue between:

1. The Government and the rural masses; and

2. The rural masses and the student teachers, and all the rest who either actively or in an auxiliary form made their mission successful. Furthermore, the rural literacy campaign, was one of the first stages whereby an endeavour was made to connect up the town and country within the framework of creating the psychological and sociological prerequisites using the above dialogue as a medium.

(a) The dialogue between the government and the rural masses:

Since the export of livestock and agricultural goods are the main source of revenue for Somalia, it is to be undeniably admitted that, the rural

areas are the economic backbone of the country. And since the rural economy is, by and large,, based upon subsistence which does not easily generate economic surplus, badly needed for capital formation, to make possible a rapid transformation and comprehensive strategy to facilitate a qualitative leap forward. The nomad or subsistence agriculturalist, who so far hasn't the rudiments, of knowledge, will not be able to fully understand the nature of the elemental forces that are continuously thwarting his endeavours. Ultimately the main contradiction in the Somali countryside is the unequal relationship between man and nature accordingly the success of socialist strategy as far as the countryside is concerned is how to heighten the consciousness of man according to nature, so to attain a level of creatively acting upon nature and making it serve his ends. The medium through which historically man has been able to control nature, in the scientific sphere, was the Creation of a technology, and in the social sphere, the fuller understanding of the nature of social development. In either case it is apparent how knowledge of the real situation, at the basis, is the actual impetus for the historic change, whereby man, step by step, leaves the realm of necessity and inches towards the realm of greater freedom.

The Somali Government through the literacy campaign, in a way, generated the basis of the above process. The Government, for the first time, in our history, had a direct connection with the rural people. From the angle of the rural people it was the

first time that they dealt freely with government institutions. Furthermore, they saw its institutions in their administrative operation. This is an education by itself, inasmuch, as it makes our nomads familiar with the idea of statehood, and furthermore, widens their horizons, to the extent that they are made conscious of the wider field of which they are a part. For the Government this was a golden opportunity to explain its policies, and above all, make the people actively involved in the implementation of such policies.

The literacy aspect of the campaign, of course, played a vitalising, organic role, and facilitated the process of the inception of a dialogue to take place. Thus, improvement of animal husbandry, health and hygiene, were made possible to be realistically approached, and attended to. Best of all, the Government was able to marshal the facts upon which its future plans regarding the countryside would be based. Hence, information gathering, and an overall understanding of the rural situation were some of the obviously tangible achievements which the dialogue gave birth to. All in all, we can readily state that the former relationship, with other governments which were filled with suspicion and distrust, were reversed, and in their place a new relationship oriented towards a mutual working together was instituted.

Dialogue between the rural people and the student teachers:

This dialogue with its personal relationships sank deeper. The nomads acknowledged

ged the Government as the biggest institution representing Somali Nationalism, but the student teachers were on one hand, respected as teachers fighting the great enemy ignorance and at the same time subjected empathy since they were young townspeople in a strange environments, which to a good number of them was harsh and untamed. Looking from the student teachers perspective, the initial hurdle was to get accustomed to the new way of the rural cultural patterns new environment which formed the substratum of the nomads style of life. It is my conviction that here in lies the vast socio-psychological changes which the literacy campaign effected in all the participants.

Ignorant of the economic realities of the countryside, as well as the traditional cultural heritage, which our rich oralism, has kept alive, and for which historic retention and storage, the new script they were championing, was invented. Having been removed from the interior, for almost all their lives, they forgot most of the rural Cultural patterns. Accordingly, meeting the nomads and living with them for seven months, subjected them to the rich learning process about their cultural heritage, as it sprang from the actual nomadic foundations. Being the educated ones, it was their task to play the vitalising role of assessing the value lying in that literacy richness, making it conform with the present social conditions.

Cultural imperialism, with its advocacy of European cultural superiority, has always gone out of its way, to convin-

ce the educated strata of the colonised society to leave its inferior culture and wholesomely adopt the more superior European culture. The educated elite were used as a cultural medium to penetrate the rest of society. Cultural imperialism takes a deeper root mainly in the urban centres, which are directly tied to the metropole. To an extent, this social phenomena occurred in the urban centres of Somalia, and particularly was stronger in the capital, Mogadishu. The RDC undoubtedly played a galvanising role in the socio-cultural context. The new pride in our cultural autonomy was attested to by the fact that when the students came back to Mogadishu, each group were the distinctive dress of the region to which they were sent.

Two more aspects deserve further discussion:

a. How the individual nomad or subsistence agriculturalist was progressively affected by the campaign and

b. How the campaign turned out to be a medium creating the prerequisites for the future community leaders.

Let us start with the first aspect:

a. Personal experience of the alphabetised nomads and subsistence agriculturalists:

This aspect, needless to say, pertains to the campaign having acted as a process which widened the horizons of our rural people.

Not only did the Somali state, but it also showed how worthy are of attention, insofar they play a cardinal important role in our present

socio-economic structure, and more likely in the one we are striving hard to create. In other words, the campaign was the first step towards tapping the vast potentialities, engendered by the human element, without which talk of progress and development become empty words devoid of real meaning. But then that human elements become creative, and a historical motive force, only when they are gripped by theory, as Karl Marx says. Man has to be able to understand the real world, and the social laws of its development. He has to have a heightened consciousness before he proceeds onto playing the transformative role of changing the world and himself. Education, the process of bringing out the potentialities of man, is the path engendering the deep rooting of that consciousness.

b. The creation of future community leaders:

It is only axiomatic to state that a good community leader, is invested with this position largely because of leadership qualities manifested by him. The leadership qualities themselves are determined by the ideological orientations of the given society, what they consider to be good and serviceable. Often these qualities are the ideal attributes facilitating the early materialisation and resilience, uprightness, humility, an all-rounded knowledge of one's society, and a host of other attributes constitute the basis of qualities which societies look for leadership.

It was not consciously in the agenda of the literacy campaign to create community leaders.

The integral elements which subsequently resulted from the campaign were that the existing community leaders found a constructive role to play in mobilising the people for the literacy campaign, and the innumerable functions that finally sprang from it. On top of that, it is my prediction, that the changes coming over the student teachers, will most likely result in their greater involvement in the social institutions, and in effect having had the necessary experience, their chances of keener understanding and involvement in social problems, will thereby be enhanced. Without doubt, their experiences, certainly have created the prerequisite for more intimate and involved stance to be taken with regard to the social issues concerning our rural areas.

There is little doubt the RDC did forget an intimate link between the traditional community leaders, in the form of nabadoons and samadoons (Peace and good seekers respectively), and the new future breed of community lea-

ders. A historic process of vast dimensions did make the two clasp hands, and splendidly emerge victorious.

Conclusion

The RDC may well change its form, as is being done now, in the form of the new adult educational programmes that are being set up, and the new decentralised form of literacy campaigns. The gains so painfully made by hardwork, and dedication of thousands should not be lost. And for this very reason, responsibility for the continuation and consolidation of such gains has to be entrusted to permanent national institutions.

The RDC in Somali will for long be remembered, not in terms of how many thousands passed the final exams, but more importantly in the supreme endeavour of the Somali nation to fight against one of the greatest enemies of humanity - ignorance. In the process we fought against the other two: hunger and disease, as well. To do this has become inescapable for the who-

le nation to attack where that great enemy was strongest that is in the Somali countryside.

Hence the strength of the RDC, is that enlightenment through education, is the surest way to the long cherished goals of freedom, independence, and prosperity. It is through the heightened consciousness, made possible by the RDC and other campaigns of similar nature to come, that will ultimately enable us to overcome nature, and make it serve our ends, improve animal husbandary; increase agricultural productivity and do a lot more.

Any dialectical process which makes possible the creative bringing into play of man's infinite potentialities has to be seen as progressive and in consonance with the deep aspirations of the human race. Looking back in retrospect, the RDC in essence was such a dialectical process, and as such was a worthy nonumetal historic juncture that our nation traversed.



THE MOGADISHO SESSION OF OAU LABOUR COMMISSION

The SDR Vice-President J/le. Major General Hussein Kulmie Afrah on 26th April officially opened, on behalf of the SDR President J/le. Mohamed Siad Barre, the OAU labour Commission's 4th session, convened at people's hall in Mogadishu from 26th to 29th April 1979, to discuss ways and means of handling labour and employment problems in Africa.

The conference was attended by representatives from 34 African states including 20 labour Ministers.

Also attending the 4day conference were the Organization of African Unity (OAU) Secretary General Mr. Eden Kodjo, the International Labour Organization (ILO) by Director-General, Mr. Farancis Blanchard, and Arab Labour

Organization (ALO) Director-General, Dr. Al-tayeb Al-Hdhari.

In an opening speech delivered by the Vice-President Kulmie on behalf of the SDR President, said that the fact that Somalia was hosting this Commission was a clear manifestation to the importance which she attach to the dignity of all human activities.

«We seek to enlist in a common purpose the power and responsibility of government and the vitality of the organized economic and man power forces designed to serve in a balanced power the interests of the community as a whole. We pursue this policy in freedom, the freedom of our people, and with pragmatism and practical realism», the vice-president said.

The agricultural programmes, the mass literacy campaign and the settlement of the drought-stricken nomads were vivid examples of Somalia's firm policy to entrance manpower development and economic progress and promote the material and social welfare of its people, he added. Turning to the African and International labour and colonial problems Jaalle Kulmie stated that Somalia deplored the human suffering which, he said, was taking place in some parts of Africa and the world at large especially in those areas where the suffering of one man was the source of pleasure and comfort of another.

«We witness defiant strikes and mass demonstration called by workers suffering under colonialism and racism who brutally respond to such strikes by unleashing terror and violence» he added pointing out that in conducting such strikes the working people under colonial oppression were not thinking simply about improving their material benefit but they were actually using such methods of resistance as weapon for the attainment of their fundamental human rights.

J/le. Kulmie called on African states to redouble their



efforts to support the legitimate struggle of the national liberation movements waging a bitter war against racist oppression and colonialism in South Africa, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Eritrea and Western Somalia.

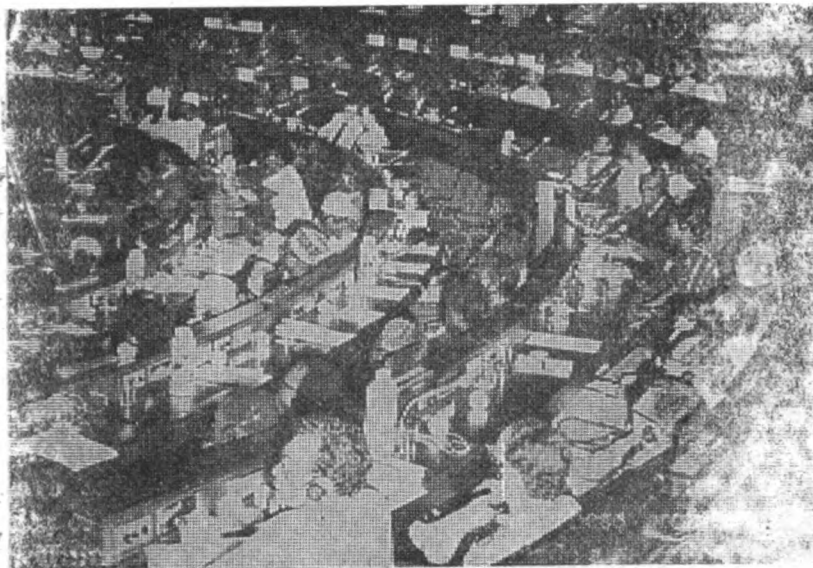
«Let us condemn all manoeuvres, machination and conspiracies aimed at sabotaging the movement towards genuine liberation of these peoples», he emphasised.

«Let us also strongly condemn the abnoxious zionist practices by Israel against the Palestinians, and other Arab people in the occupied terri-

tories» he added, J/le Kulmie emphasised that peace and co-operation among African Nations could only be attained through the settlement of inter-African problems and the recognition of the sacred principle of self-determination.

The vice-president cited as an example the issue in the Horn of Africa as one of the problems which could be solved through the application of the key principle of self-determination.

He warned that if this principle was neglected violence could continue to increase in Africa and that foreign powers



in furtherance of their interests and designs would get the opportunity to intervene and dominate African peoples by perpetuating Inter - African wars.

In this speech, which he read out on behalf of the SDR president, Jaalle Siad, the Vice-President has extended profound greeting to the (OAU) Sec. Gen. Eden Kodjo, the (ILO) Director General, Francis Blanchard the (ALO) Dr. Al - Tayeb and Ministers and heads of delegations, and wished the conference a success in its deliberations.

The OAU Sec. Gen. addressing the session stated that Mogadishio is the flash light of the African Revolution adding that he would never forget the role played by the Government and the Somali people in facilitating the O.A.U summit conference held in

Mogadishio in 1974.

Mr. Kodjo pointed to the necessity that African governments should unite their efforts towards the development of their countries and protect their general interest so that they could bring about a stable economy to their future generations. He also stressed the importance of implementing

the Monrovia convention whose objective he said, was mainly to establish a common market for the African countries.

Prior to the opening of the 4th session, the Somali Minister of Labour and social-Affairs, J/le Mohamed Burale Ismail opened 2nd meeting of African labour administrators. The 3days meeting paved the way for 4th session of (OAU) Labour Commission held from 26-29 April.

In his opening speech J/le Burale Said:-

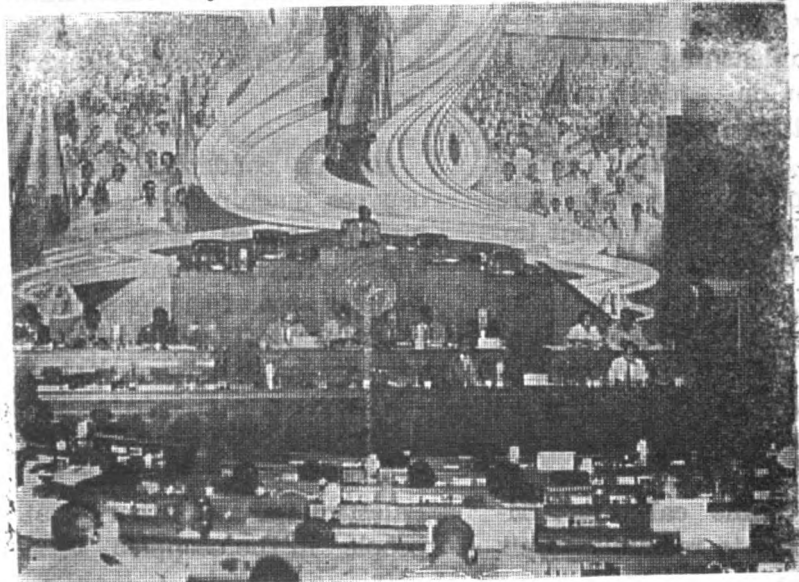
«It is signal honour and I feel highly privileged on behalf of his excellency Jaalle Moha.

med Siad Barre, the People and Government of Somalia to wellcome you being African experts well conversant with labour and social problems peculiar to the African continent. A close look at the Agenda items that the meeting deals with shows important Issues of elaborating a dynamic action programme for the coming years of our commission.

The minister stated that following the programme of activities having been considered and approved by the experts conference and by the commission itself, the latter should progressively become more effective and hence deserve the confidence of the OAU policy - making bodies that is to say the OAU council of Ministers and the Assembly of Heads of states and governments which are the Supreme Organs of the Organisation.

The Minister touched on the phenomenon of the «Brain-drain whereby qualified and competent Africans are not employed in the continent but instead are forced or prefer to find employment elsewhere in the so-called developed countries.

«Another theme that I con.



sider appropriate to the work of the commission is the need for closer co-operation and unity in the fields of labour, population, employment and related social questions». He said,

«One further maps issue that deserves mention is the problem of migrant workers in Africa. Labour migration in Africa is not new as there existed before free labour mobility without any political restrictions. Lately, however, African Governments have increasingly become conscious of the need to accord priority to their nationals and to put restrictions on free labour mobility within the continent. In view of the need for Africans to share in common available human, natural and other resources of the continent, the commission should give itself most serious attention to the need for accordingly equal treatment to their nationals and workers of African origin residing in the countries concerned. In this connection I wish to pay special tribute to the Secretariat of the OATUU for not only having taken the initiative to have this item inscribed on the Agenda of the meeting but also having drawn up the draft rules of procedure that will give the future conduct of the labour consultative committee charged with settling inter-state labour dispute» he added.

In its concluding session the OAU labour commission adopted a number of resolutions aimed at solving and alleviating the continents labour and employment problems.

The SDR Minister for Labour and Social Affairs Jaalle Mohamed Burale Ismail officially closed on 29-th April at the People's Hall in Mogadishu the

4th OAU session of the OAU Labour Commission.

In a speech he made on the closing session, J/le. Burale expressed thanks to the participating delegations for the co-operation, maturity and confidence they have shown during the session.

Speaking about the resolutions of the conference, the Minister stated that all of them were pertinent, to the interest of the African Labour force and their co-operation, and hoped that they would genuinely be implemented.

Jaalle Burale affirmed that the achievement attained at the conference was a manifestation of the co-operation among the African countries and their Unity.

The 3 day session of the Labour Commission wound up in a friendly atmosphere and reached understanding on all the items on its agenda.

Among other things, the Commission, resolutions dealt with Afro-Arab Labour co-operation, the structure of the International Labour Organization (ILO), Organization of African Trade Union Unity (OATUU) the commission's programme of activities in the field of labour, employment, population and Related Social questions.

The ministers also endorsed various resolutions aimed at creating the appropriate means to adopt a unified position on such issues as transnational companies and co-operation between states in the field of migrant workers.

On the Afro-Arab Labour Co-operation, the commission

invited the Secretaries General of the OAU and the Arab League to undertake in Co-operation, with specialised African and Arab institutions, the necessary action and consultations to strengthen joint Afro-Arab activities in the field of Labour and Social affairs.

It also called on the OAU Secretary-General to get in touch with his counterpart of the league of Arab States with a view of examining possibility of drawing up medium and long term co-operation within the frame-work of the Arab Fund for Technical Assistance to African and Arab countries.

Furthermore the commission urged the OAU Secretary General to begin immediate consultations with his Arab League counterpart with a view concerning the Ad-Hoc-Ministerial conference of 11 Members entrusted with technical and material preparation of the first Afro-Arab Conference of Labour Ministers.

With regard to the structure of the International labour Organization (ILO), the OAU Labour Commission reaffirmed, among other things the need to democratise and reform the structure of the ILO keeping in mind the principle of equity of states, to reflect contemporary international political and social realities and the deep aspirations of the peoples of the third world for a new and fair international social order.

It also expressed support for the group of 77 on several issues within the framework of the ILO structure and activities.

Considering the rapidly increasing number of refugees in

(continued on page 18)

PARTY LIFE



Jaalle Siad Participates in the conclusion of Women's Seminar

The Secretary General of SRSP, President of the Somali Democratic Republic Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre, has participated in the evening of May a ceremony held at the district of Abdulaziz of Benadir region. This ceremony was organized by the executive Committee of the Somali women Democratic Organization of the region. The executive committee at the national level of the said organization were present at the ceremony.

This tour commenced on 11th April and was headed by Jaalle Faduma Omar Hashi, president of the SWDO, member of the CC of SRSP. The main objective of the tour was the mobilisation, organization and raising political consciousness of the Somali women in the Benadir region. Likewise their execution of the decisions reached at the First extraordinary congress of the SRSP that of revolutionizing the administrative machinery of the state. Other related objectives were the execution of the year of the child programme of 1979. The SWDO accepted the establishment of children fund by allocating the sum of 11,270 Somali shillings for the above fund.

Jaalle Siad in a speech delivered on the occasion spoke about the leading role

of the Somali women in the struggle waged for the freedom and the independence of their country, the process of nation building, Unifying their society fighting against the enemies of the Somali people such as hunger, disease and ignorance. Further the president emphasised the present dynamic role of the Somali women in the building of a new society based on equality, Justice and unity. Moreover, the president emphasised the active role of the Somali women in safeguarding the gains of the 21 October Revolution. Besides, he pointed out the different problems which the revolution encountered in its life span of nine years and more. Hence the experiences which the revolution gained through out the above period has enabled it to overcome the new challenges lying ahead. Furthermore, Jaalle Siad urged the Somali women to take an active role in the implementation of the programme of the year

of the child, fighting against hoarders, the building of new society and safeguarding the gain of the Revolution.

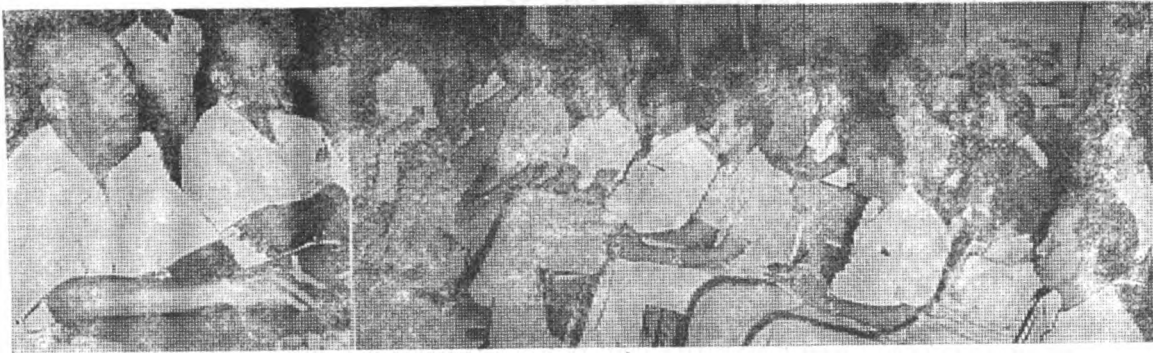
At the conclusion of the ceremony the president awarded honorary certificates to the various districts of Benadir Region, the police academy, the state printing Agency, and other comrades who took a lion's share in the implementation of the programme of the Somali women democratic organization. Before the president's Speech the chairman of the SWDO Jaalle Fatuma Omar Hashi, CC member delivered a brief report dealing with the main activities of SWDO. Other participants present that ceremony were Vice-presidents SDR Assistant secretary General of SRSP Jaalle Brid General Ismail Ali Abokor, members of CC of SRSP, party secretaries of the thirteen districts of the Benadir Region and heads of social organizations.

JAALLE SIAD RECEIVED THE SECRETARY WHO ARRIVED FROM CHINA

On 7th May. The General Secretary of the SRSP, President of the Somali Democratic Republic met with the party secretaries of the Region and other functionaries who have recently

paid a friendly visit to the People's Republic of China.

Jaalle Siyaad, mentioned in his Speech, while addressing the secretaries, the inevitability of mutual



consultation with other heads in fulfilling the party plans - such plans are mentioned in the programme of SRSP.

The President also involved the head of the Regions to execute their practical experience in the regions in which they are responsible, so that their visit should not go in vain.

The president heard a report from the secretary of the party committee of North-Western Region Jaalle Omer Salad Elmi who led the delegation to China. Jaalle Omer told that the delegation was warmly welcomed and gained an invaluable experience.

The delegation among other delegations to china

left the country on 5th April. During their stay in china the delegation visited many regions and met many leaders and cadres.

Such visits will strengthen and consolidate the relations between the two peoples and to gain experience from the chinese people's struggle for the construction of their country.

COMMANDER OF THE VICTORY PIONEER FORCES TOURS BENADIR REGION

The Commander of the victory Pioneer forces Jaalle Brid General Abdirahman Abdi Hussien member CC of SRSP, has made working tour of the thirteen districts of Benadir Region.

The main objective of the said tour from 14 to 22 April, 1979, was to maintain contact of the party leadership with the Somali masses. In each district the commander held meeting with the party social organizations, Victory Pioneer force committees and the masses at large. Through out the tour Jaalle, Abdirahman delivered Speeches the last being the one he delivered at the conclusion of his tour in the district of wadajir. The main theme of the said speeches centered on the necessity of establishing constant dialogue between the party leadership and the somali people. In other words, the purpose of of such meetings is to keep the

somali masses informed about the affairs of their country. Furthermore, the commander emphasized in his speeches the urgent need for establishing social cooperation between the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party and the social organizations. He maintained that maintaining full cooperation between the two would contribute immensely to the process of nation building and the improvement of the living standard of the somali people. Moreover, he pointed out that the glorious Revolution of 21 October 1969 has brought about drastic changes in all aspects of life, be it political, economic, social and defence. He continued that such changes were self-evident in the progress and achievements made by the somali people during the span of nine years and more of revolutionary construction. Hence, such progress Realised by the somali masses was due to the sin-

cerity of the revolutionary leadership dedicated to the socioeconomic development of their country.

In contrast, the self-seeking reactionary regimes that preceded the Revolution of 21 October 1969, replaced only the departing colonial powers and did nothing for the toiling masses of somalia. For example foreign policy of the siad regimes was characterized by the absence of sense of purpose and direction. However, the foreign policy of revolutionary somali is based on firm foundation such as the first, second, third charters and the resolutions of the first extraordinary congress of SRSP in January 1979.

Furthermore, commander Abdirahman described the present ongoing wars of national liberation in the African Horn as genuine and just wars. He stressed that the main objec-

tives of such wars led by WSLF and SALF Eritrean liberation fronts etc. are the attainment of their inalienable right to self-determination. Consequently he mentioned the fact that in the last part of 1977 WSLF and SALF have succeeded in

the liberation of the Major portion of their territories from the colonial yoke of the Ethiopian empire state. However

Nevertheless WSLF and SALF are bound to succeed, because their cause is a just

one. Lastly Jaalle Abdirahman urged both the party and its social organizations to double their efforts in the process of nation building and to maintain constant vigilance against the enemies of the Revolution of 21 October 1969.

A FRIENDLY VISIT

A Chinese delegation led by the Vice-chairman of the Chinese friendship Association with foreign countries, comrade Luo Shigao began a two-week tour in Somalia, (29.11.79). The delegation arrived here with the invitation of the Somali friendship Association with foreign countries.

During their stay in the country the delegation had friendly talks with the Assistant General Secretary of the SRSP, Jaalle Ismail Ali Abokor, Chairman of the Ideology Bureau Jaalle Mohamed Aadan Shekh, Chairman of foreign Affairs Bureau Jaalle Ahmed Mohamud Farah, and Jaalle Warsame Ali Farah the secretary of the party committee of the Benadir Region who is also chairman of the Somali Friendship Association for foreign countries.

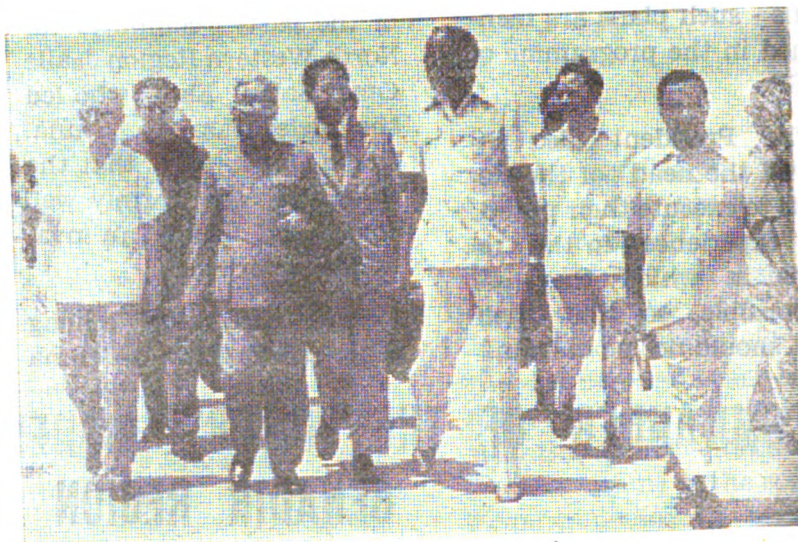
On these occasions the two sides discussed matters concerning the relations between the two countries the two peo-

ples, the two parties, the complex situation in the horn of Africa and the world at large. In these talks emphasis was laid on the need to consolidate and strengthen the existing relations between the two countries. During their stay in Somalia the delegation paid a friendly visit to the current development projects in Afgoi, Hargeysa, Baydhabo, Jowhar and Mogadisho. These projects include projects handled by the

Chinese government.

In every place they visited Chinese delegation was warmly welcomed by the Somali people who showed their enthusiasm towards the Chinese people.

The delegation was escorted by Jaalle Warsame Ali Farah, the secretary of the party committee of the Benadir Region who is also the chairman of the Somali Friendship Association for foreign Countries.



COMMEMORATION OF 1st MAY CELEBRATIONS

The entire Somali people and especially the Somali workers have enthusiastically observed first May day Celebrations. For the Somali people this very day has a dual significance. That is being the international working class day and the second Anniversary of the foundation of the General Federation of

Somali Trade Unions.

Therefore, the mass-media of Somalia have prepared different Programmes for the observation of the above occasions. However, the General federation of Somali Trade Unions have organised parades through out the main streets of Mogadishu. Among the par-





Participants in the said parades were workers from the public and the private sectors. Besides, the federation organized competition through out the Regions of the Somali Democratic Republic. The First winner of the said competition trade Unions within the federation participated in sport competition. The winner was the local government trade Union. Subsequently promotions and honorary certificates were given to workers who have demonstrated extraordinary work.

On the other hand, first May celebrations were held throughout the Somali Democratic Republic. In the above cele-

brations participants were workers and the masses at large.

But a note worthy celebrations was held on the night of first May at the National thea-

tre in Mogadishu. Among those who attended the ceremony was the Secretary General of SRSP, President of the SDR Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre. After wards, president siad delivered a speech on the occasion of first May celebration.

In his speech the president congratulated whole heartedly the somali workers in their observation of the above celebration and the second Anniversary of the Foundation of the General Federation of Somali Trade Unions. Readers are reminded that the text of the president's speech will be published in this Issue of Halgan.



COMMEMORATION OF 15th MAY

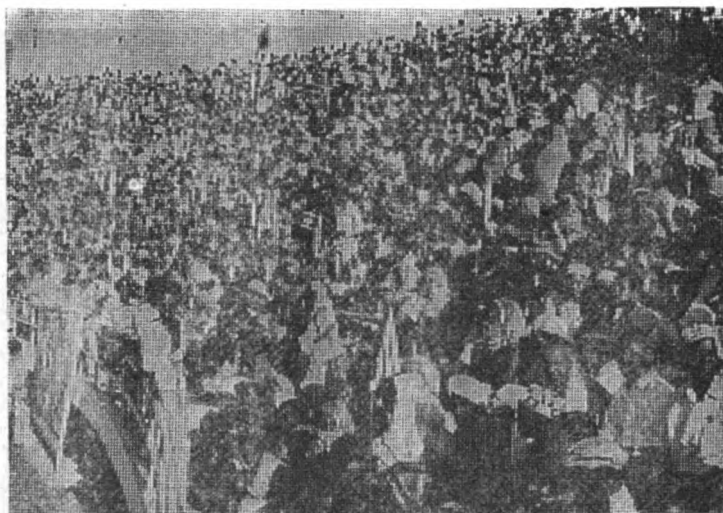
The Somali people in General and the Youth in particular have observed of the 38th anniversary of the foundation of the Somali Youth league. This party was one of the leading political parties in the modern history of Somalia. Besides, SYL was vanguard nationalist party which achieved the independence of the Somali nation. Another important significance of 15th May was the second anniversary of the foundation of the



Somali Revolutionary Youth Union (SRYU).

The Said Union has organised different Programmes for the occasion. that is political orientation, mobilisation and mass procession. Besides, other programmes of similar nature were organised by the mass media. Other celebrations were held throughout the territory of the Somali Democratic Republic. The main participants in the above observation were Youth and the masses at large.

In Mogadishu grande procession was organised by the youth and social organizations. Wreath of flowers were laid at the monuments of the unknown soldier, Sayed Mohamed Abdalla Hassan, and Hawa Tako. Equally, a ceremony was held at the national theatre on the night of 15th May. Among the leading personali-



ties who attended the function was the Secretary General of SRSP, President of the SDR J/le Mohamed Siad Barre, Vice presidents, members of the CC of SRSP and the social organizations.

The President speaking on the occasion has congratulated the progressive Somali Youth on their day of 15th May. Similarly, he spoke about the long arduous strug-

gles of Somali people for the attainment of their freedom and independence. Further, he pointed out the dynamic vanguard role played by the Somali Youth in that struggle and urged them not to lessen their struggle in the building of their nation and for raising the living standard of their people. Readers are reminded that the text of the president's speech will be published in this issue of Halgan.

(Continued from page 13)

Africa the commission, urged the OAU member states to give a more liberal treatment to refugees seeking employment and asylum in their respective countries.

It also called on African governments to continue to provide facilities for the training, education, placement and employment of African Refugees and give active support to the concerned International bodies in these spheres.

On OATUU, the Commission urged; OAU member States to Seriously consider implementing the previous resolutions of the commission calling for direct financial grants and assistance to the OATUU to enable it to extend its operational activities in the conti-

nent at this crucial and infant stage of its development. On the field of labor, employment, population and related social problems the commission decided among other things.

That the draft programme of work presented by the Secretaries shall constitute of the urge of working material for the future activities of the commission. This draft should be enriched with proposals from member states and it should be submitted to the session of the commission.

It also called upon the OAU Secretary - General to facilitate the establishment of a Pan-African Employers Organization, giving the necessary moral support and technical assistance.

Finally, the OAU Labour

commission during its 4th Session held in Mogadishu, adopted a special resolution institutionalizing the Conference of African Labour Administrators and Experts that normally precedes the session of African Ministers of Labour. It was decided that, henceforth, the African Administrators Conference will meet regularly for 3 days prior to the convening of the Labour Minister Session and will be charged with the task of preparing the agenda for the Ministers Assembly. The 4th Session also adopted resolutions aimed at improving the methods of work and procedures of the OAU Labour Commission.

The Somali Minister of Labour and Social Affairs will serve as the current chairman of the commission until its regular 5th session next April.



WORLD AFFAIRS

Lebanon: Target of Israeli Aggression



The situation in the Middle East is worsening. A new crisis brought with many difficulties and this has come about after Israel entered a one-sided agreement with the isolationist forces of Lebanon in order to escalate her war of aggression. In the lands she occupies. But her attacks have not been confined to the South of Lebanon but have been extended to the major towns of Lebanon.

Israel has of late made of Lebanon a target of aggression and has in addition given full support to Sa'ad Xadaad who has declared what he calls, «The Free Republic of Lebanon».

Such developments are the result of the prevailing condition in the middle East. It is not difficult to understand the motives behind

such Israeli aggression.

As a matter of fact this new Israel stand towards Lebanon has given rise to a new stage in the development of her former policy which has been confined to the support of Sa'ad Had-

daad's movement and the other forces affiliated to it that are based in Lebanon.

The war between Israel and Arabs has entered a new phase. But it is not strange that Israel is waging these constant and continuous aggression against Lebanon in order to further her Zionist ambitions.

As has been explained often by the Israel authorities the motives behind Israeli aggression against Lebanon is the Palestinian presence there, which she claims is a threat to her survival. That is why Israel is determined to oust the Palestinians from Lebanon and to disperse them in the Arab countries.

The Palestinian struggle inside Lebanon has linked itself to the nationalist for-



ces struggling there thus enabling the plestinians to get support and to stay there.

The expulsion of the palestinian from Lebanon is not the only objective of Israel. New circumstances have arisen in the area in the wake of the present situation in the middle East, resulting in that variation of the fortunes of war between Israel and the Arabs and giving the Israels a chance to persecute the palestinians struggling in Lebanon.

Beside the Palestenians in Lebanon there are the Arab Peace Force stationed there that is consisting of units belonging to the Syrian Republic, which is viewed by Israel tantamount to palestinian presence — a factor that is a menace to

Israel security and peace. Israel has therefore, also the aim of expelling this peace force from Lebanon.

Hence Israel looks upon Lebanon as a source of danger to her existing if there are together the Palestijnians and the Arab Peace Force.

Viewed from another angle Israel aggression against Lebanon reflects Manahem Begin's request of Labanon to sign a peace agreement between the two». Of course this meant to force on Lebanon an agreement with Israel and to force her to withdraw from the Bagdad commitments.

It is also obvious that Israel and their allies wish to see an understanding reached between Israel and the Arab countries.

Peace based on justice and the liberation of the Arab lands cannot be brought about through a forced agreement that is favourable to Israel. Neither can Israeli aggression lead to any just settlement for it can only end in a spurious peace.

The peace sought by the Arab peoples and the peace-loving forces of the world is that which bears the right of self-determination for the Palestenian peoples and in order to enable them to return to their own homeland and form a state or government of their own, with Israel to leave all the Arab lands which she is occupying illegally.

It is only through the above criteria that peace with justice and full freedom can be established.

LENIN: A GREAT REVOLUTIONARY WHO CHANGED THE HISTORY OF MANKIND

Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov. Lenin was born on 22nd. April, 1870 in the Volga Town (On the bank River Volga) of simbirsk now known as ulyanovsk where he spent his childhood and youth. He came from a progressive and democratic Family.

He was born in an era in which the revolutionary process of the oppressed people reached its highest level. At the time, the working class was waging a decisive struggle against bourgeois blood suckers.

The first proletarian government was established in France-the Paris commune, one year after the birth of Comrade Lenin.



nin, during that period a persistent struggle was being waged by the forces to build a new and just society in this planet.

The existing class struggles of that epoch arose his revolu-

tionary sentiments. The working class movement in Russia was in a head-on confrontation with the reactionary characters of the political and social system of the Tsarist Russia. There was severe need for a leader who would be able to weld them into a real fighting force.

The immortal leader V. I. Lenin was the first founder of revolutionary proletarian Bolshevik Party, later in 1919 re-named the communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Lenin propounded ideas and laid down the basis of a Party of a new type that would raise

(Continued on page 36)

MONTHLY BULLETIN



National Army Day celebrated

The Secretary General of the SRSP and President of SDR Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre on 12 April attended a ceremony held at the Military Officers Club marking the 19th anniversary of the founding of the Somali National Army.

The ceremony was also attended by SDR Vice-Presidents Jaalle Lt. General Mohamed Ali Samatar, Major General Hussein Kulmie Afrah, Brigadier General Ismail Ali Abokor, SRSP Central Committee members and high ranking officers from the national Army.

At the ceremony, the Hored Artists of the national Army entertained the Party with short plays.

In a radio address made on the occasion, the President first conveyed his greeting and congratulations to all the members of the National Army and wished them and their families health, Victory and many happy returns on the occasion.

Jaalle Siad stated that the Somali masses in consideration of the dedication and honesty of the National Army has shown during its 19 years of existence, look upon 12th April as a great festival and celebrate it enthusiastically.

The president commended the officers of the National Army and the Ministry of Defence in general for the

efficiency and patriotism with which they have fulfilled their responsibility.

«I am confident that members of the Somali National Army are fully prepared for safeguarding the fruits of the socialist revolution and defending National Unity» he said.

Jaalle siad urged the Somali National Army to constantly maintain the dignity and the popularity they enjoy among the Somali people, and stressed upon them to increase their efforts in fulfilling National Tasks.

Jaalle Lt. General Mohamed Ali Samatar the First vice-President and the Minister of Defence, who also delivered a speech on the anniversary celebrations, underlines the 1978 achievements of the Somali National Army and reiterated that the revolutionary steps

taken have never failed to bring victory and progress to the Somali Nation.

Despite our innumerable achievements» he continued, «We must live up to the expectation of the Somali people.

le in defending the country, safeguarding the revolutionary gains and assuring the sovereignty and unity of the Somali people.

Earlier in the day, Jaalle Samatar laid wreaths of flowers at the capital's memorial monuments of the unknown soldier the hero Seyid Mohamed Abdulla Hassan, the martyr Hawo Tako and Dagahtur Momument.

The National Army Day was also celebrated in the country's various regions and districts.



24 APRIL; INTERNATIONAL DAY OF YOUTH SOLIDARITY

The Commemoration of the 24th April this year is taking place while the international situation shows that the balance of force is tipped more and more in favour of the youth and peoples who are struggling imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, apartheid, racism, fascism and reaction, for peace, democracy and social progress.

Young people and progressive man-kind hailed with enthusiasm the great victories achieved by the people of Africa, Asia and Latin America, yet Millions of people and youth are still suffering from colonialism, discrimination, apartheid, racism and oppression in South Africa, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Palestine, Western Somali, Somali Abbo, Eritrea and other countries.

The oppressed nations and their liberation Movements that bear the burnt of the struggle enjoy the solidarity of the international community every year on the occasion of the 24th April, which is a factor of great importance.

The Declaration on the granting of Independence to colonial countries and peoples is for the democratic and progressive mankind an occasion to recall the many nations that have acceded to Independence since 1960.

It is also an occasion to pay tribute to the many youth and peoples who are still suffering torture and persecution so that their countries can be freed from the yoke of colonialism and thus join the community of free nations, and is an occasion to re-

affirm our common commitment to act for the liberation of the last remaining colonial territories in the world. Also we have to contribute to the implementation of the international conventions on the elimination of all forms of colonial domination and Racial Discrimination. These declarations represent the desire of nations for peace, national independence, human dignity and international cooperation.

Indeed, in modern history, colonialism and racism are indissolubly linked, to such an extent that it is often difficult to separate the colonial yoke from racial problems.

In Southern African countries racism is a system of national oppression and a crime against humanity and human rights

are denied to them totally. Therefore, the case is similar to that of the people in the Horn of Africa (Eritrea, Western Somali and Somali Abbo) which is under the rule of Mengistu regime.

The United Nations, its specialized agencies and the international Community must bear particular responsibility towards all peoples in the world.

On the 24th April day of international Youth Solidarity the world youth spare no effort to promote new and diverse actions of solidarity (Launch campaign, meetings, Symposium, trips etc) with the people and youth fighting for liberty, national independence and social progress.

OAU INFORMATION MINISTERS CONFERENCE

The Somali Delegation to the OAU Information Ministers, Conference arrived in Addis Ababa on the 4th of April after being stranded Nairobi for 3 days following refusal by the Abyssinian regime to Issue entry visas to the delegation's members.

The Somali delegation's arrival in Addis Ababa was facilitated by the intervention of the OAU Secretariat after Somalia's letter of protest, earlier in the week, to the Secretary General of the OAU, Mr. Adem Kodjo.

The Somali delegation led by the acting Director of the Somali National News Agency (SONNA) Jaalle Saed Mohamed Hajj returned home on

11th April after participating in the OAU information Ministers Conference held in Addis Ababa.

Briefing newsmen at the airport J/le Siad pointed out that the conference discussed ways of establishing a pan-Africa News Agency the proposal of which was recommended by the African heads of state during their summit in 1963.

He said the conference also decided to establish five regional news centers, Sudan was selected to be the News center for Eastern Africa, Nigeria for West Africa, Zambia for Southern Africa, Zaire for Central Africa and Libya for North Africa. He added that a number of committees were

nominted to co.ordinate the agency's activities, He also said that the forth coming OAU Summit will decide on the Location of the Agency's head quarters and the day its operation will commence, since none of the implimenting proposals preseted has received the necessary majority approval of the ministerial conference. Jaalle Said added that, during their stay in Addis Ababa, the Somali delegation, unlike their African colleagues, were maltreated contrary to the OAU, international laws and human rights conventions.

«This type of violations are not uncommon to the Abyssinian regime in Addis Ababa» he said.

Earlier when the delegation was stranded in Nairobi on their way to Addis Aaba, a statement released by the SDR Ministry of Information and National Guidance on 3rd April condoned the Addis-Ababa regime's violations of the charter and the principles of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) as well as agreements reached between this organization and its member states.

The statemen said that the Abyssinian regime has acted against an argreement concluded between the SDR Foreign Minister, J/le Abdiquman Jama Barre and OAU Secretary General, Mr. Edem Kodjo, during the recent African Foreign Ministers 32nd Conference held in Nairobi.

This agreement between the Somali Minister and the OAU Secretary General stipulated that the SDR, which has always played an active role in the promotion of co-operation and African Unity, has in future to take part in the OAU, and International Conference to be held in Addis Ababa.

The SDR's previous decision not to participate in addis. Ababa's conference, was taken because the Ethiopian Capital has become a scene of crisis, unrest and insecurity where the rulling junta grossly violates the charter and principles of the OAU.

«Although nothing has changed in that situation, yet the Somali Democratic Republic has received an official and solemn undertaking from OAU which guaranteed for respect and security for the Somali delegates attending such conferences», the statement said, adding that an agreement to this effect was also reached between the OAU and the Addis Ababa Regime.

In accordance with this pledge on the party of the OAU, the SDR accepted to participate in the African Information Ministers Conference and made this known to the Secretary General of the OAU, Adem Kojo. It was unfortunate, however that the Somali delegation to attend the conference were stranded in Nairobi after the Ethiopian Regime denied them entry visas.

The statement added that as a result of this the SDR has sent a letter of protest to the OAU Secretary General.

«The Abyssinian regime has no right whatsoever to stop the OAU member countries from participating in the organizations, Conference» Said the statement.

«This shameful and imprudent act by the Abyssinian Regime», it continued «is a manifestation of Ethiopia's incomppliance with the established principles, laws and diplomatic norms between governments and it seems that the wrong illusion that the continent's common organization is one which it can manipulate to its own suiting and a forum where it can fulfill its own policies and interests.»

The statement warned that Addis Ababa Regime repeats such a violation», the OAU member state would not tolerate one country to bar another member from attending the various ionferences of the Organization and principle of the OAU as well as the resolutions passed by the African heads of states.

«This flagrant and nefarious act on the part of the Abyssinian Regime, would consequently prompt the African leaders to consider transferring the OAU head quarters from Addis Ababa», the statement said.

A PAN-AFRICAN CONFERENCE ON REFUGEES

A Somali delegation headed by the Minister of local Governments and Rural Development Jaalle Maj-General Jama Mohamed Ghalib left for Arusha, Tanzania on May 4 to attend the Pan-African conference on Refugees which opened there on the 7th May, 1979.

The 10-day Conference discussed ways and means of alleviating the sufferings and frustrations of African Refugees.

Somalia is one of the African countries severely affected by the Refugee problem which necessitated the setting up of several camps to deal with influx of Refugees escaping the suppression and atrocities of the Abyssinian colonial Regime.

The delegation included Somali's ambassador in Geneva and State co-ordinator of Refugee affairs.

Statement delivered by H. E. S. M. Ghalib, Minister of local Governments and Rural Development of the SDR to the Pan-African Conference on Refugees held at Arusha, Tanzania, (7th — 17th May 1979) says among other thing:

«The question of refugees is a major international problem of particular concern to the African continent and it is therefore significant that we, are all present here, examine it objectively with the aim of resolving or at least reducing its impact and consequences. In 1967 a Pan-

African Conference was convened to look into the legal, Social and economic aspect of the refugee problem in Africa. This Second Pan-African Conference is of exceptional character and significance since it is being held at a critical period when the situation of African Refugees has proven to be extremely serious both in terms of its gravity and dimension. This fact is heightened in the comprehensive preparations made for this conference and the important guidelines and suggestions contained in the opening address delivered by President Nyerere. An appreciation of this grave and drastic situation is manifested by the greater interest and attention demonstrated and the comparatively wider participation of OAU member states, International Organizations, Agencies and other states at this conference.

The statistical assessment we have before us shows that there were one million refugees in Africa about ten years ago. Today we are confronted with the estimated figure of four million and the forecast that the number is increasing at an alarming rate.

It is most important to examine that African refugee problem within Pan-African context and in correspondence with African reality. The difficult struggle that Africa is waging against colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism, apartheid, ali-

en domination and against all violation of human rights.

Is one of the major causes for the existence of the four million African Refugees. This conference should be able to provide us a more scientific basis upon which to make appropriate recommendations on these and other issues.

This August assembly is fully aware that following the tragic events in the Horn of Africa the Government of the Somali Democratic Republic in cooperation with the UNHCR and other humanitarian organizations and through bilateral assistance from sympathetic countries, launched an emergency relief programme for a large number of refugees in its territory. These large number of people enter the territory of the Somali Democratic Republic due to compelling circumstances beyond their control, circumstances that involved brutal oppression and violence.

Our official estimates put the figure of such refugees around 500,000. Out of this number, so far, 170,000 are in Refugee camps. We have been able to set up 20 Camps in 13 Districts under 5 Different regions of the Somali Democratic Republic. With the assistance of the UNHCR, other organizations and states, these refugees are provided with basic necessities like food, shelter, medicine, education and other social amenities.

we are in the process of formulating concrete projects in order to involve the refugees in self-help programmes.

The Somali Government is seriously considering the feasibility of such a plan in terms of its practicality and the financial resources it would entail.

In view of our serious human and material limitations, it goes without sa-

ying that Somalia alone cannot shoulder the heavy burden of the implementation of these and other vital projects required for the refugee people in Somali territory.

The Minister concluded his statement by with an appeal for greater External assistance to cope with the immense magnitude of the refugee problem in Africa. Nevertheless, he continued, we would like to emphasize

the point made in the opening address by President Nyerer, the fact that the refugees of Africa is primarily an African problem and responsibility. We, as our part are ready to participate positively in bilateral and multilateral efforts to find out not only temporary solution but also long lasting solution based on justice and the respect of fundamental human rights including the right of self-determination.

"PLANT DAY," OBSERVED

The Somali Democratic Republic Vice-President Jaalle Major General Hussein Kulmie Afrah planted at the premises of the Bondhere District in Mogadishu the first plant marking the anniversary of the planting day 17 April.

The ceremony was also participated by the SDR Minister of Livestock Jaalle Yusuf Ali Osman Benadir regional Party Secretary Jaalle Warsame Ali Farah, and 2000 students from the schools of Benadir region who planted 5,000 trees in the area.

In a speech he made on the occasion, Jaall Kulmie explained the significance of the plants and the attention the revolutionary government has

given to their preservation and propagations throughout the country.

Jaalle Kulmie stated that the revolution fully realizing the importance of plants, wild games and livestock to the economical development of the country, devoted a whole ministry and an Agency for their promotions.

He also pointed out the objective behind the participation of the students in the plantation was to inculcate in them love for the plants.

Jaalle Kulmie called upon the Somali people to render great care towards the preservation of the plants and com-

ply with the laws established for the ranges.

The Minister of Livestock Jaalle Yuusuf Ali Osman who also spoke on the occasion, stated that the ministry of Livestock and its affiliated agencies spent great efforts to the development, and preservation of the National ranges.

The Vice-president Jaalle Kulmie later on the same day also awarded a cup at the Cons Stadium to the Horsed Team in commemoration of the Planting Day.

Similar ceremonies marking the Planting Day were held also throughout the regions and the Districts of the country.

THEORETICAL ISSUES



IS THERE AN AFRICAN PHILOSOPHY

«Part II»

In the earlier part of this article a brief summary was given about the conceptual foundations of the African Philosophy thesis. To do this we concentrated on the ideas offered by its principal advocates, such as Janheinz Jahn, John Mbiti, Professor Kunene and, to a lesser extent, the philosopher, poet and politician Leopold Senghor. The main task of these philosophers boiled down to the argument for a system of beliefs, viewpoints peculiar to the African society and adding up to form an African philosophy different from and in contradiction to world philosophy, specifically European philosophy. Their point of departure is to review all philosophic categories such as time and space, motion, reason and emotion, the abstract and concrete, etc, to conform them to the recently discovered African philosophy, of whom the above gentlemen are its militant Vanguard. As far as they are concerned African philosophy imbues all philosophical categories with a new content originating from the Bantu world view such as functionality, concreteness, emotionalism, rejection of an analytic framework, and as regards time, John Mbiti argues that for the African time dissolves into the now (Sara), and the past (Zamani).

Accordingly for the African the future does not exist since life flows imperceptibly, with-

out any future temporal dimension. John Mbiti who adheres to this point of view, tries hard not to fall into a logical contradiction, and therefore subsumes the future within the two tenses which alone enjoy rational validity in African philosophic time scale. The Hantu concept of Janheinz Jahn itself falls into metaphysical categories inasmuch as he tries to give it a specific and unique African attributes. However metaphysical exposition of what is meant by African philosophy attains its exemplary heights in the ideas of professor Kunene, whom we dealt with relatively in a more comprehensive fashion in the first part of our article.

A generalised version of our critical attitude to the proponents of African philosophy has already been offered! and in this article we will attempt to fortify the criticisms forwarded, by adducing further theoretical grounding for the rejection of the African philosophy thesis. For one thing this thesis can be found to hold minimal cogent arguments since, as we argued and will now argue, African philosophy in its evolution and development is inseparable from that of world philosophy. Secondly those who persistently advance the idea of the philosophy thesis try to deduce it from the premises of the African literature and furthermore

expend all their energy to expound a literary standpoint bereft of ideological content. In other words they do all in their power to conceive literature as a dimension free of ideological struggle and influence. In actual fact the ideological purity to which they are dedicated is mostly designed to combat the Marxist-Leninist ideology. Thus, right at the start, one realises the masked and dubious nature of the African philosophy thesis: It is but another form of bourgeois wall of self-defence, initiated to engender self-deception in the African masses. In other words it is another way of consolidating the idea of propping the foreign, alien ideologies, which but amounts to the rejection of the Marxist scientific ideology to which the African intelligentsia and masses are now receptive in their struggle against imperialist and neo-colonialist domination. However a greater elaboration on the two points above stated becomes imperative and it is to this that we will now address ourselves.

THE EVOLUTION OF PHILOSOPHICAL THOUGHT

Philosophy the science of sciences, the love of wisdom emerged initially in the seats and cradle of civilisation, the settled areas in and around the big rivers of the Nile, the Yangtze, Indus. Euphrates, etc, i.e. the rumblings of philosophical thought we-

re first heard in Egypt, China, India and Asia minor. The charvicks, an Indian materialist school came up with the first principles of the primary elements of which the universe is formed. i. e The four elements of water, air, fire, and earth. This conception of the school were subsequently developed by classical Greek philosophy.

The philosophy of antiquity attained its full maturity in slavholding Greece and Rome. Greek soil saw the full germination and flourishing of the best in human philosophy, attainable under the conditions then prevailing. A naive and spontaneous materialist interpretation of the world sprang up and was advocated by Heraclitus, Democritus, Epicurus, and others. Democritus transcended the formerly limited parameters of materialist outlook and came up with assumption that the universe consists of small, indestructible and indivisible particles called atoms plus a void or vacuum. With the help of this he could get ready answers for the multiple and diverse elements, phenomena and processes in the world. Furthermore he argued that atoms had the quality of swerving and this gave them inexhaustible potentialities of changing their quality, property, essence, content, form, etc. Add to this the dialectical methodology of Heraclitus which cogently argued for a world in a flux which continuously changed due to contradictions inherent in the objects and phenomena, and you find that the materialist conception was already developed enough to stand on its feet.

On the other hand there

were the famous Greek philosophers. Plato, Aristotle and Socrates. Plato championed a philosophical conception opposite to Democritus, i. e he laid down the foundation for an idealist interpretation of the world. For Plato the sole realities in the world are the Ideas, «Which are not ideas such as pass through the minds of men but entities existing in a region outside time and space, changeless themselves, and unaffected by changes in material objects». Thus, «Ideas are the only objects of knowledge in the Universe. Concerning all other things we have only opinions, fallible and irrational, whereas knowledge is enduring, infallible, and rational». In announcing the hegemony of Ideas over the objective material world Plato spells out another integral aspect of the idealist school of philosophy, that is the unknowability of the world, and in his book the Republic he takes up the example of the Cave, arguing that man finds himself in a cave, and as such his vision is limited. Aristotle his student, and Alexander the Great's instructor, vehemently disagreed with his former teacher. He held that ideas are not present in another world apart from material things, but in this world inside material things, and this view of Aristotle is one which makes the universe a universe of form and matter in whose union reality is found». This view point of

Aristotle is a materialist one, but then later Aristotle slipped back into idealism, as he came up with a dualistic conception of the world, as is contained in his distinction of formless matter, which is the material world, and pure form, which is the unmoved

mover, which is but an idealist fabrication of Aristotle. Socrates to whom Plato was a disciple, and dedicated much of his writing to, can be considered a dialectician per excellence. Socrates took upon himself the gigantic task of freeing man, in his case the Athenians from ignorance, the accordingly day in day out posed questions on justice, piety, goodness, badness, etc, in other words he had dialogues with anyone prepared to listen, and in the answers they gave resolved will lead to the discovery of the truth.

Subsequent Romanian and other Western European philosophy was immensely influenced by Greek philosophy, thus the categories extensively dealt with by philosophers are, by and large, categories singled out for critical study by the Greeks. The important point to note is that philosophers became divided into two major groupings: Materialists and Idealists, and this is the underlying principle of all preceding philosophy, and today's modern philosophy. The debates between the two schools boils down to the pre-eminence or priority given to either matter (nature) or thought (consciousness). To put it differently it is the principle of handling the relation of object-subject, or Subject-object categories. Materialist outlook, particularly the dialectical materialist method of K. Marx and F. Engels scientifically argues for the pre-eminence of matter over thought, which is seen as a product of the former. Hence Marxian dialectics proceeds on the premises of object-subject, relations. Idealistic schools, in all their multitudinous variants proceed from subject-object relations,

and view that God is the creator of the material world:

Human practice, experience and critical scientific studies attained, advanced human knowledge indisputably proves the falsity of idealist claims that the spirit, thought, and consciousness rule over the natural and material beings of which they are but a conceptual reflection.

This reasonably long expose has been given to answer the wild claims of African philosophy thesis, since now we can only be convinced that

African philosophy is part and parcel of the mainstream of human philosophy. Therefore the debates and dissensions registered in world philosophy can but rage in African philosophy, which ought to find answers for the basic question of philosophy. And obviously those answers cannot contradict the ones given by the foremost minds of human thought, i.e. European philosophers, as well as others on when history devolved the duty of addressing themselves man predicament. Space and time will not give the Africans a special treatment and fate. The African, Just like all other people live in this real material world, which has its object inexorable natural and human laws, which affects all in pretty well the same fashion.

Literary foundations for the African philosophy thesis

As they say, «a drowning man hangs onto the straw», and this is true of the African philosophy thesis. The proponents of a separate African philosophy lean heavily on the accumulated body of African literature to find justifications for their arguments. In fact

they mostly lean heavily on a segment of African literature, i.e. literary negritude and the writings of wole soyinka to give firm grounding to a respectable African philosophy capable of attracting an emotional attachment. For the readers' benefit, the negritude movement was a philosophical and literary protest movement which sprang up in Paris in the 1930's and continued enjoying influence amongst french speaking African intellectuals through the 1940's 1950's and with minor formal metamorphosis in the 1960's. Leopold Senghor, A. Césaire, D. Diop, B. Diop, and a host of other French speaking African intellectuals contributed to the emergence and development of negritude. As a mild protest movement it is characterised by the portrayal of Africa as a continent with a wholesome traditional values and where men lives in harmony with nature, and conflict between man and nature, as well between man and man is minimal. The beautification of Africa, the lauding of its traditional values of peace and harmony, the basking under the sun of past glories, the rebuke against Europeans to have destroyed that primeval and pristine beauty, are some of the unifying threads singularly characteristic of the negritude movement. The search to reinstate such state idyllic affairs is one of the major of the negritude literary movement. But the rediscovery of Africa, the regaining of its glorious past, as far as the champions of negritude are concerned, is not a militant anti-imperialist mass based on revolutionary action, but primarily the mental, and abstract act of the gifted intellec-

tual who alone is equipped with the imaginative power of recapturing the wholesomeness of communal and primitive Africa pregnant with meaning for the whole of mankind.

The negritude movement and its thought has been subjected to an incisive criticism and presently in Africa its influence has tremendously dwindled as its advocates have attained positions of power which by necessary has transformed their former practical passivity to an active defence of the existing neo-colonialist status Quo. For our purpose the importance of negritude lies in the fact that it tries to picture Africa, its history, its literary wealth, social structure as harmonious, independent and closed to outside influence. Furthermore the negritude movement tries to discover eternal regular and recurrent order free from foreign and alien cultures and currents. Obviously such an order permanent and stable as it is can only in the same manner affect all dimensions of reality, philosophy included. Accordingly the African philosophy thesis can only utilise it to the full.

But then could anyone with his senses intact rationally argue that Africa has for millenniums remained unmoved and the same, despite the momentous changes unfolding in its arena. Life, practice and human experience stubbornly refuse to follow the course charted out for it by the negritude literary and political figures. The penetration of colonialism into Africa, and the pillage, robbery and suffering it brought in its wake testifies to the fact that the contention of a stable, and pure communal Africa with

unchanging social relations, and attitude to life, is false and intellectually unconvincing. Besides European colonisation introduced Africa into the mainstream of social development, inasmuch as the advanced science and technology of Europe came to Africa and transformed the mores and values of African societies. The communal structure of Africa is now a thing of the past, as it is an old mode of production on its way to inevitable death.

From the brief summary above set out we can only admit that Africa is in constant contact with the rest of the world, and as such it cannot remain isolated from the momentous, earth shaking processes occurring in the world. The extent that Africa is acted upon by other forces, and it correspondingly acts on such forces determines the process of integration, disintegration, and interpenetration of such forces, in the socio-political, economic, and philosophical fields. Neither

the concept of negritude nor the diatribes of Wole Soyinka who inveighs against alien ideologies, and dishes out nonsensical ideas about an African personality, African Vision, can tell the Zimbabweans, Namibians, South African Blacks that they live separately from Europe, European investments and arms. The African personality, philosophy or grand vision, if there are such things, emerges and is a product of the specific history that Africa has lived through, and to this very day is living through. The African personality, philosophy, vision is moulded by our colonial history, and by the struggles we are waging against neo-colonialism, imperialism, avaricious multinational corporations, and the supra-racist regimes of south Africa.

Accordingly it is a history of national and social emancipation processes, which as far as their philosophical and literary content is concerned, makes the struggle of our African masses an inte-

gral part of the mainstream of progressive and democratic currents unfolding throughout Africa and the rest of the world. Osman Sembene, the critical writer of *God's bits of wood*, and other books, in the literary world captures the true picture, and thus symbolises the best of the times we are living. While the escapist literature of the negritude movement and Wole Soyinka will sooner or later be denuded of meaning, and benefit of social relevance the writings of progressive men of letters Osman Sembene will live on forever, as they are based on the bedrock of the struggle for man's liberation and happiness, which in present era fits into the world wide struggle for socialism and the transition to a new ownership of property free, from man's exploitation of man. In the fight for a better future the Marxist-Leninist ideology is not a foreign, alien ideology but an effective instrument hastening the process of liberation.

BOOKS AND DOCUMENTS



Speech of the Secretary General of SKSP on the 1st May celebration

As usual I am once again overjoyed to participate with you in commemorating this great day which is a milestone in the struggle of the workers of the world to improve the material production of all humanity. It is also very opportune that this occasion coincides with the second anniversary of the Somali Trade unions.

It is also significant that in Mogadishu, the Fourth conference of the OAU «Labour commission» has been concluded in which African labour ministers, the leader of African confederation of workers Union, other UNO Officials and UNO Regional labour officials took part. This testifies to the importance attached to labour and workers and the way it is decided that their progress should be achieved collectively. I thank all these leaders who have attended this conference, and congratulate the commission and the responsible authorities who organized the conference in such a satisfactory manner. There is no doubt that the fruits that will be borne by this conference are the result of the struggle by all the workers of the world.

May day is a day on which the workers and the other productive forces fighting against oppression, exploitation and colonialism united. The recognition of May 1st as



the international workers Day is evidence of the fact that toiling masses everywhere began extending solidarity to the workers who have been opposing exploitation therefore, I would like to send greetings and congratulations to all the Somali workers and their families wherever they may be.

Likewise, I would like to send felicitation to all the workers of the world observing May Day of 1979.

First May is not the only day workers celebrate in memory of their Victories. But it is a day that serves them as a yard-stick to measure their achievements, in regard to the development of the economy and the fulfilment of their plans, Calculating the level of achievement of every year by the years that have passed and planning for the forthcoming year. The initiation of such ideas and their creation in the minds of van-

guard workers belongs to the workers' associations who have based themselves on the socialist theory that emanate on the emulation of work which shows the role workers play in the changing and construction of the future of society.

As human history teaches us the objectives of any socialist revolution and its fruits are realized and defended by the working class who are supported by the other forces with whom they share common interests. Hence as we have said on several such occasions the Somali workers have contributed a great deal to the Somali people's struggle for freedom unity and progress. Economically, Politically, and socially, pursuant to the promises in its charters, the Revolution has made every effort to improve work and workers which are inseparable and has introduced for the Somali workers a democratic atmosphere, so as to enable them to participate in the management of work and in policy making. This has been effected everywhere in the country, and it is necessary still to strengthen the understanding and fulfilment of such measures.

The process of revolutionizing work and workers was a step by which the Revolution sought to establish the objective of realizing justice

for work and workers who can be the basis of vanguard imbued with the spirit of socialism and who can work with a political awareness and on inclination to increase production.

There certainly is the fact that these legal procedures were made in the circumstances existing at the time and that same therefore, leave one in doubt as to their validity and therefore need to be brought into conformity with the present stage of development. We sympathize with such a feeling on the part of the workers for it is inevitable that the laws on work and workers should be in line with the changes in the political economic and social life of the Somali society that are occurring daily. The difficulties that one comes across in these laws, particularly Law No 36 should be tackled by the committees appointed for their collection and reformulation. As for matters concerning insurance and the care of the workers, it seems that, so far as we are concerned, there is dissatisfaction on the part of the worker in regard to the way these are handled by those concerned with their management and are responsible for the welfare of the workers vis-a-vis their various occupations and their social life. But firmly hope, however that apart from the responsible authorities who are entrusted with these matters the workers themselves will profoundly appreciate the fact that the transformation, the development and improvement of their lives as well as these of the masses depends on them, be it so far

as production is concerned (for the motto produce and eat) or questions of administration (For the duty of the worker's committees existing at the places of work or the various agencies).

As for the social life of the workers I would like to refer you to the resolution of the Extraordinary Congress of the SRSP which states, «Ways and means should be studied so as to balance the cost of living. The salaries and production.» Such study should be immediately started and the ministry of Labour, the General Confederation and those branches of government that have economic responsibility should turn their attention to this problem and arrive at a useful conclusion that the central committee will be able to decide on it. It seems that such difficulties are a common phenomenon of the world today, and particularly in the developing countries of which we are one. We can surmount these problems by stopping the illegal market which can be eliminated in turn by increasing production and the labour efficiency of the country. These historical responsibilities lie on the shoulders of our workers and the other productive forces, like the farmers and cooperatives who have merged to reconstruct our society in accordance with the resolution of the SRSP. The efforts and efficiency of our productive forces should enable us to wither away this storm by attaining self-sufficiency.

In regard to the examinations for technical personnel, we are sure that

these have effected great changes in the material life and the march of our technical workers whose skills have not been evaluated previously. But it is essential that this should be followed by training courses for the workers so as to raise their knowledge in the fields pertaining to their work, and by way of increasing their production and productivity in such a manner that they will be able to compete with the other workers of the world who have advanced in the various skills of technology. The examinations should not be viewed as a means of merely, increasing pay, but as incentives to increase production, to raise the level of labour productivity.

As for housing I am sure that difficulties in connection with this subject could be minimized, if there were a sense of responsibility and a fellow feeling among workers in understanding this problem and collective action was taken. We have talked about this at several meetings, beginning with the general National Conferences, and many resolutions have been passed on this matter. But it appears that these have not gone into effect satisfactorily. Therefore, all those concerned with this problem are required to solve it in the interests of their workers, basing their decisions on the workers income their physical and mental energies. The party and the workers Confederation should keep track of the accomplishment of these resolutions and lend a helping hand in the fulfillment of the instruction and the legislations on the cons-

truction of houses for workers and contribute to their facilitation.

It is also necessary to say something about transport that should help workers and the masses in getting to their places of work. Suffice it to say that there are problems that need to be solved in respect of this problem, that is the responsibility of the organizations that manage transport, among these being the Local Governments, especially in the big towns where the movement of workers and the masses are concentrated. We cannot at the same time forget the upkeep and maintenance of government and public transport and the responsibilities shouldered by some agencies in importing and making spare parts.

The SRSP in its short existence in an attempt to put into effect the programme of the party in the social milieu of the masses, has initiated and succeeded in the creation of social organizations that are the links between the party and the means by which the party carries out its work among the people and lead them, this being in line with the ideas of progressive parties elsewhere who believe that they should be closely related to the masses for whom they are the vanguard. The Party has often described the workers as the backbone of the Revolution and that they bear great multifaceted responsibilities among which can be mentioned :-

1. That they should improve their productions and

knowledge.

2. They should work in the society and inspire confidence and unity among the people.

3. They should guide their disorientated fellow-workers, the ignorant tribalist ones and lead them back to the right path of progress, and cooperations for the future destiny of the nation.

By raising these points our aim is to draw the attention of the manpower and the cadres of the workers and the toiling masses to the significance of the problems of which we have our own worriers such as the coordination of our working class so that they would all go for serving the nation in various fields: The raising of the economic level the mastering of modern technology the acquisition of general and professional education, the prevention of diseases the improvement of the lives of the rural population and of the cooperative communities, the planning of the construction of the cities and so on. It is a pity to say that we did not think that our workers would be in need of us in taking the initiative of doing all this by themselves.

We do feel that there are groups who do not heed about this difficulty their goal being the arrogation of certain privileges that are motivated by a tribal, regional or selfish mentality. Such groups shall not be able to oppose the interests of the masses whatever excuses they invent. We are at the crossroads today. The

question is who is working in the interests of the masses and who is not; those who do not, whose interests are they promoting? Who are they supported by? Whatever the case is, those who wish to see tribal warfare taking place under the Revolution let them know that there can be no such a thing, and we tell them this as party members, as workers and as the toiling masses and as a nation.

The confidence with which we say this is that which has led us to extend a general amnesty to those who fled the country or were misled to do so or thought they could take advantage of particular circumstances or else left the country because of fear and who today have realized that home is the best place and are ready to live and work in their society. I am sure that there are many of these who are today participating with us in this festival, after having retrieved their dignity and their work. For the Revolution has never backed down from having mercy on those who have strayed taking into consideration the level of their consciousness.

It is this policy that has always led the Revolution to extend an amnesty particularly on big occasions, the last October anniversary being a case in point. This has been done with a view to giving offenders the opportunity to contribute to the remaking of our society once again. This confidence has led us to prepare the constitution which will contain the policy of the country. And we call

upon everyone to vote on it in the plebiscite that will be held in the coming August. With such confidence we have also decided to establish a people's assembly which will be elected this year so as to realize people's representation and the expression of their aspiration.

This confidence is founded on the assurance the Revolution has from the

working masses, and on the uncompromising role they are playing in the construction and defence of the country.

Let us not be confused by mere empty slogans shouted by opportunist in regard to the strong foundation and reservoir the Revolution is relying on. And let us not confuse threats from outside with the internal policy of our country

which is based on strong forces.

In the spirit of camaraderie and with this large confidence and assurance of our destiny, I like to send you, our workers, felicitations on this occasion of May Day which coincides with the second anniversary of the founding of the General Federation of Somali Trade Unions. And we say forward with your struggle.



Speech of the Secretary General of SRSP on the Commemoration of 15th May

Comrades,

On behalf of the name of the Central Committee of the SRSP of the SDR and my own name I would like to express pleasure in participating in the Commemoration of the occasion of 15th May, and dedicated to the memory of the Somali youth an occasion that coincides also with the Second Anniversary of the foundation of the Somali Revolutionary Youth Union. I congratulate all of those present here tonight and in general the progressive Somali Youth, to celebrate with pleasure and happiness.

Such a wish is not based on the festivities of the commemoration of the occasion of the youth but because of the fact that all such occasions occupy a very important page in the history of a nation's struggle. And the most important of such occasions are those that are connected with such a struggle. That is why I send to you my felicitations and I partake of your joy, for 15 May is recorded in a special manner in the pages of

the history of our struggle and because of the fact that our youth have played an undeniable progressive role in the struggle of the nation for freedom the right to self-determination and unity.

I also share with you the joy of the fruits your efforts have borne in the reconstruction of our country, the struggle for national unity, the defense of the achievements of the Revolution. The history of the struggle of the Somali youth has very vast significance.

It is related to and is part of the movements that Somali nation has launched in the various fields of life. For history does not mention a single nation whose youth has not fought in the vanguard for the struggle against natural forces for survival. No struggle of any society in any field of human endeavour can dispense with youth. Particularly the younger generation are in a greater advance in certain areas than those advanced in age. And this is

evident in the enthusiasm, the intense emotions and sentiments, of nationalism and revolution, the youth always manifest and in their opposition to humiliation, colonialism and oppression. At the same time they are constantly revolutionary.

It is, therefore, obvious that in retrospect our youth have been responsible for the initiation of all the national liberation movements.

ts. And tonight we are celebrating 15 May, and the occasion in which two years have elapsed since the establishment of the Somali Revolutionary Youth Union. What was 15 May? And why here we named it in honour of our Youth? I do not expect that we are not aware of the significance of 15 May. Some of us present here tonight were witnesses of that day. Some others have learned about it from the struggle of the Somali masses. To clarify certain things or to sum up briefly, let me remind you of events that happened thirty years ago in our

country, and of the sentiments that at once swept the country.

On May 15, 1943, an association of thirteen youth was created. Some of these youth are celebrating the occasion with us here tonight.

Although the association was not large in number, the ideas these youth were inspired with, and began giving effect to were very great indeed. These ideas were legitimate and correct. This can be seen from the way these young men expressed the aspirations of the Somali people for everyone of them was yearning for the realization of these ideas which were basic to all ideals of life.

And everyone was confident that achievement of victory and the future of his children were closely tied to the way these ideals were realized and these were freedom and unity the SYL Youth initiated these ideals and they roused the people to their realization. However, there were other associations of Somali Youth, who began such similar objectives and after struggling attained them.

Among these was the SNL which liberated the Northern Regions, and the liberation movement led by that gallant nationalist leader Mohamoud Harbi, who fought in Jabuti. So whenever we mention the S.Y.L we should also remember these other movements.

The ideas and aims which were basic to the movements led by the S.Y.L and S.N.L were international in nature and they were allied to other movements in rest of the world. And their victories were similar to victories of other

that is why our struggles are an integral part of other liberation movements.

Definitely, the SYL youth did succeed in their objectives, although the victories they achieved in their.

ideals and the aspirations of the Somali people were incomplete. In any event no movement that expresses the aspirations of the masses ever collapses by short lived setbacks. Such a movement lives until the people attain their aspirations. This is not dependent on the will of individual personalities and is free from any emotional feeling. The Somali people were aspiring to achieve their goals until the birth of the Revolution and they began working for the realization of their victories in concrete terms, that is to say, prosperity and the development of their country. These struggles of our masses are manifested in the committed activities of our youth and it will be linked to it so long as our people are fighting for the establishment of their life and future on a firm foundation.

It is of great value and something to be proud of for all of us that our youth everywhere and at every stage have discharged their responsibilities to their nation and to their country. This is something that all of us will prize highly and commemorate and we congratulate the youth on their devotion to their knowledge in the development and liberation of their country and reunification of their people. Let me stop here on the significance this occasion has and the way the youth discharged their responsibilities. As for the revolutionary policy in regard to

youth and the motive behind the founding their union I have talked many times about this.

But I feel that looking at the tasks awaiting our youth it becomes necessary to remind them of their duties and to give them guidance.

I hope that at your plenary meeting on the occasion of the founding of your union, I said that your organization is the reservoir and the right arm of the party, it is one of its wings. The party feeds on your blood, efficiency, light, your courage and your consciousness. I was saying this by way of pointing to the relationship between the youth and the party. And there is no doubt that the party recognizes this. Why did we describe the youth in these terms? Why did the youth deserve this praise? To begin with why have the youth been described as a reservoir? And society's achievement is led by its youth. And all material wealth created by a nation and its ideals are beguiled by the youth. The force to which the SRSP will leave behind, such ideals are the rising generation and it always plans in such a manner that the youth are strongly represented in the party and grow getting maturer and better organized.

It is on youth that the party grows. And likewise when we say that youth are the right arm of the party, this is true, and scientifically proved. As we know the party has a heavy programme whose realization needs awareness and a high level of knowledge as well as new muscles and a high degree of efficiency. Such traits are peculiar to youth, for they have plenty of physical energy

and they are the only force in our society that has consciousness and profound knowledge.

The party has spared no effort in giving them their due place and in organizing them. And in taking in any step in bettering their position, it does so with an eye on the interests of youth so that they may have the opportunity of using their talent in the service of their nation. This is no because any society Committed to the achievement of rapid progress relies on the organization of youth and the level of their political understanding. Youth are full of very little experience in life, their minds being ever ready to absorb any new idea. This is the reason why all progressive political parties are struggling in the mobilization of youth and in the creation of a revolutionary and progressive ideas.

Since youth are sensitive it is necessary that they should constantly be controlled and tolerated for some irrational beliefs. If we keep at a distance from youth and let them loose we will find out that they will have been won over by other forces, and it will not be possible to lead them to the right path. It is such responsibility that the revolution has given top priority to and to the task of imbuing them with a sense of patriotism and progressive spirit. One of its achievements is the ability of our youth to found their own organization for whose leadership they are solely responsible.

Tonight, our youth have shown many important things in the play they have staged. But let me take one particular event. It meant to show

one of the several machinations the reactionaries have been using to prevent our youth from accomplishing their duty, and that is tribalism.

And it was necessary that the youth should, have demonstrated it. We have really been touched by the scene. This is not the first time that the reactionaries are hatching to abolish the Revolution. When the Revolution was born the imperialists and the reactionaries inside the country made attempts to undermine the revolution.

Countless is the number of times they have made such an attempt, and they have spread lies to achieve the same aim. However, when they failed to use force to achieve their ends they have used more subtle tactics, among which there is the use of sowing of doubt in the minds of the progressive forces and the creation of bad social habits. So what the youth have shown us tonight are a reality and they need to be combatted.

who are hiding under the smokescreen of tribalism and religion are not alone in their initiative. They are tied to colonialism and they do not care about the interests of the nation in the least. They have the same objectives as the colonialists from whom they are no different.

This is really serious. It is the duty of all party members, the youth and the social groups to wage a battle against these reactionary forces, and they should be eliminated from the scene and be defeated as we have done in the past. And large-scale

campaign should be waged from every quarter against all those who show any connection with these reactionaries, in all work places and educational centres, as well as in the households.

The campaign can be waged in several ways. This can be Ideological which means that the youth union should propagate among their members the useful ideas of socialism and I have already said socialism is not sheer slogans. It is more profound than such empty words. It is important that the ideas of socialism should be clearly understood so that our youth should be liberated from the pernicious ideas with which they may be trapped.

Culture and discipline are the reactionaries. Good discipline and Somali culture should be the pillar that support our youth.

Technical knowledge and science are universal but the life of every nation is its culture and its customs are peculiar to it and their loss leads to disorientation and the undermining of personality. And laxity in discipline makes it easy to renounce one's culture, therefore the youth organisation has the responsibility of combating bad discipline among young men and women and to orientate them to abide by our culture and elevate it. International politics today is tipping the balance in the favour of the masses aspiring to progress, and great have been made in many fields. The colonial forces have been weakened. Although colonialism has been defeated in many battle fields there still are many peoples struggling for their freedom; among these

are the western Somali and Somali Abbo, Eritrean, Palestinian. You will find many youth African peoples.

On the other hand, the working peoples of the world are engaged in a bitter fight against neocolonialism, in order to win democracy and to realize socialism. In all these battles the youth are in the vanguard, for the youth are the worst victims of colonialism neo-colonialism and exploitation. You will many youth who, after having been exploited in every manner, have been unable to throw off oppression and have therefore despaired of good life.

You will certainly have seen or heard of many youth who have taken to drugs. All su-

ch habits have been caused by colonialism. Our youth and other progressive youth of the world in general have the responsibility to support the democratic movement of youth living in colonized countries for their rights to work and education. The struggle of these youth similar to that waged by our young people in the past and at the present moment. The Revolutionary youth union still has a lot to achieve although it has played a big role in the democratic movement of youths in other countries for the realizations of freedom peace and progress. And preparations should be made by them for a bitter battle against colonialism for their destiny is inevitably bound together with other youths every where. The

Somali youth whose day we are commemorating tonight have worked very hard and have contributed a great deal but the responsibilities of a struggle cannot be fulfilled in a matter of days. Our struggle is permanent and continuous. It will not stop until we have defeated our various enemies, I hope you will redouble your effort so that we will achieve progress.

I commend you for the manner you have organized tonight's celebrations for this historic day. I especially congratulate the various committees that have prepared this event. And I wish all our youth a happy holiday and wish them all success. May Somalia Unite Victory for The Somali Youth!

(Continued from page 20)

the working class and led them, with united Ideological spirit, to defend themselves from exploitation of the bourgeoisie and other sorts of repression. In its working programme the party of the new type sought to implement the following objectives:

- Liquidation and the struggle against capitalism and exploitation.
- Development and implementation of scientific Socialism which creates equality, brotherhood and cooperation.
- Support the liberation movement and the struggle for independence.
- Unity of the international progressive forces, collaboration of the working class of the capitalist countries and the liberation movements struggling for freedom.
- Unity of the international working class movement and

the implementation of Marxist ideology.

— To intensify the principle of peaceful co-existence of all nations.

The ideas of Lenin's Party of a new type ushered in a new stage in the peoples struggle against capitalism and exploitation.

Vladimir Ilyich has not only founded the Party of the new type which, today, its ideology and principles are shared by many working class parties all over the world, but also was the first Marxist and working-class leader who contributed to the practical implementation of the right of nations to self-determination; Because he believed that the principles of Scientific Socialism can not be effected unless the rights of nations who lived under the Yoke of tsarism were fully recognized.

Lenin was also the first leader to Create a first socialist-

State in this world and put into practice the principles and ideology of constructing a socialist society.

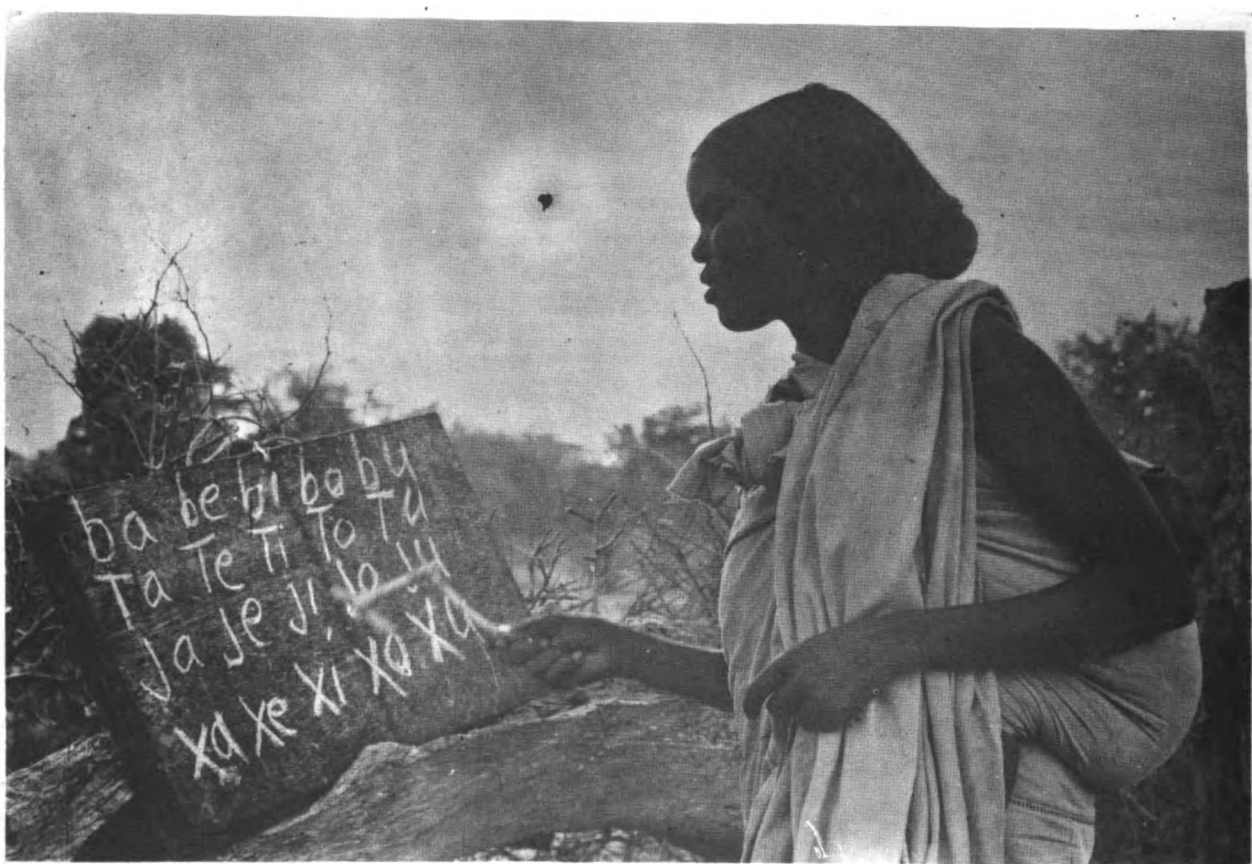
Lenin died on 21 June, 1924 at the age of 54. He spent all his life in struggle for the success of Scientific Socialism, the strengthening of the leadership of the Party and the fight against imperialism and colonialism.

Lenin left behind ideas that enriched Marxist Philosophy. He wrote hundreds of books, pamphlets, thousands of articles and speeches that changed the working-class outlook. On the basis of this works, he led the oppressed masses to victory.

Each year, the working class celebrate the anniversary of Lenin's birth day . on 22nd, April. They commemorate the the great struggle he waged for the legitimate rights of the working class and the implementation of Scientific Socialism.



Baobab: A dominant tree in Somalla.



**Writing Somali language and its impact on
Somali Nomadic mother.**

HAILGAN



Xisbiiga Hantiwadaagga Kacaanka Soomaaliyeed

(THE STRUGGLE)

◦ THE FRANTZ FANON CENTER MOGADISHU CONFERENCE

- Reflection on the Somali Economy
- The Role of Political and Social Organisations in Health Development
- The Artist in Socialist Society.

Struggle to
learn, in order to
learn to
struggle better

HAILGAIN

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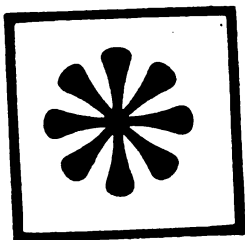
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EDITORIAL



Days worthy of genuine celebration

The 19th Anniversary of the independence and unity of the two former colonized parts of the present Somali Democratic Republic, was highly and enthusiastically celebrated. 26th June, 1960 marks the first day that a Somali flag was erected on a free and independent Somali soil, after colonialism divided the Somali territory into five parts during the scramble for Africa, centuries back.

It also marks the historic day which the English colonialism was ousted from the northern part of the Somali Democratic Republic, after 80 years of colonizations.

Equally important is, 1st July 1960, the independence day of the Southern part of the Somali Dem. Republic which was under Italian colonial oppression and exploitation for about 70 years.

Considering the aspirations of the Somali people which; among other things, was to wage a persistent struggle against colonialism and re-unify the partitioned Somali territory, 1st July, marks the unification of the two independent Northern & Southern parts which consist the present Somali Democratic Republic.

More important historical significance of 1st July, indicate the founding of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist party (SRSP) after 7 years of revolutionary transformation; since the birth of the 21st October, 1969 revolution, which ushered a new progressive era in the history of the Somali people.

These historic days signify, the joy and happiness of the Somali people which didn't come by mere gift, but borne out of the severe and staunch struggle of the Somali masses against colonial domination and for freedom and independence.

The Somali liberation struggles has passed through many stages which differ according to conditions, historical richness and the quality and quantity, attained in order to fulfill its mission.

But, above all, the Somali people's struggle had one great objective: to fight and smash the colonial oppression, to ensure the unification of the Somali people, and to build a Just society.

In respect to the above aspirations of the liberation struggle of the Somali people which experienced the his-

torically different stages of its development, such as: The heroic struggle of AHMED GURY in the first half of the 16th century; the nationalist struggle of SAYED MOHAMMED ABDULLE XASSAN at the beginning of the 20th century; the Patriotic struggle of the Somali Youth League founded at the end of World War II, engendered a vivid atmosphere in respect to the political mobilization and structural organization of the struggle.

The outcome of this protracted struggle of the Somali people were the gains that we are, today celebrating for.

But the question to ask is whether the Somali people reaped the fruits of the 1960 independence — particularly before the Revolution — which they fought and suffered for it. The answer is no, due to the opportunistic few whose policy was directly connected, and become in line with the neo-colonial one.

Apart from becoming a neo-colonial power, the then existing regime like any other country in the realm of neo-colonialism lacked to formulate & elaborate an economic development plan which leads to the well-being of the society and the consequences were the sufferings of the true fighters of the independence — the toiling Somali masses.

These oppressive and neo-colonial conditions led to the victory of the glorious 21st October, 1969 Revolution which opened a new page for the history of the Somali people. The major objective of the Revolution was to establish a new society based on justice and equality; independent from all kinds of imperialist subjugation, in economic, political and social matters, so as to reach progress. The revolutionary aspirations created and added a Revolutionary impetus to historical progress of the people's struggle.

In respect to the political leadership of Revolutionary Somalia, the Somali Revolutionary socialist party (SRSP) was founded in order to guide the policy of the country and to carry out the multi-dimensional aspects of the development strategy of the society.

Unlike the pre-revolutionary gloomy days, today's celebration for these historical days, of 26th June and 1st July, is full of vigor, enthusiasm and revolutionary spirit, for it manifests the confident atmosphere of the Somali people upon the revolution, and the realization of their age old dreams of equality, justice and progress.

These revolutionary feelings gained during the 9 years period of the existence of the revolution created stimulation and incentive among the Somali people in executing the overall development programmes and to participate fully in the protracted struggle geared for the fulfillment of its objectives of freedom, unity, and independent economy.

Political, Economic and Social Affairs



The Fanon center Mogadishu conference



INTRODUCTION

The Frantz Fanon Research and Development Center held its Third International Conference in Mogadishu, Somalia, from Monday June 18th to Sunday June 24th 79. The Conference was attended by delegates from academic institutions mostly in the United States of America, the Caribbean and Panama. Two delegates came from Kenya and one from Tanzania. The total of 90 delegates from abroad were joined by about 70 Somali participants and 30 members of the Somali Conference preparatory Committee.

The Conference was opened on Monday June 18th by Jaalle Mohamed Aden Sheikh, the Chairman of the Ideology Bureau of CC of the SRSP. During the course of the Conference, the participants heard Keynote addresses by Jaalle Ibrahim Megag

Samantar chairman of the Central Committee Affairs, whose Speech focussed on Somali political Developments and the role of the SRSP; Jaalle Ahmed Mohamed Mohamoud, Chairman of the session, focussed on aspects of Somalia's economic trends; Jaalle Mohamed Ali Nur, Vice - Chairman of the Social Affairs Bureau focussed on Somalia and the International Children's Year and Dr. Mary Ella Robertson, of Professor of Social Policy and Director of Community Studies, University of Louisville, who focussed on the role of women in social change.

The Conference was officially closed on Saturday June 23rd by Dr. Ahmed Askir Botan, Minister of Higher Education and Culture. That same evening, the participants and other invited guests attended a sala reception at the Juba Hotel hosted by Jaalle

Ibrahim Yusuf Aburas, the Mayor of Mogadishu.

ON FRANTZ FANON

The Fanon Research and Development Center takes its name from the late Dr. Frantz Fanon, a Psychiatrist from Martinique who had become through his heroic involvement in the Algerian Revolution of 1954-1962. Among other tasks, Fanon helped to edit *El-Moudjahid* (The Struggler), organ of the FLN, the body that was leading the war for Algerian independence.

Born in the West Indian French Colony of Martinique in 1925, Frantz Fanon died of blood cancer in a hospital in the United States in 1961. However, he left behind a wealth of revolutionary ideas in famous publications such as:

- A. Black Skin, White mask
- B. A Dying Colonialism;
- C. Toward the African Revolution and
- D. The Wretched of the Earth. Fanon's writings, particularly the last one, analysed class formation in post-independent Africa, challenged neo-colonialism and pointed towards a socialist reconstruction of society.

In one of his notebooks, Fanon once wrote: "To put Africa in motion, to cooperate in its organization, in its reg-

rouping, behind revolutionary principles. To participate in the task of changing a continent - this was really the work I had chosen,"

Fanon's writings have contributed towards the radicalisation of Third world Scholars

THE TRINIDAD CONFERENCE.

The Second Frantz Fanon International Conference was held in part-of-Spain, Trinidad in February, 1978. The theme of the Conference was, «The Theory, and practice of Social Scientists in the Context of Human Development» It was very successful and included scholars from America, the Antilles and Africa.

At the Trinidad Conference, a unanimous decision was taken to request the Government of the Somali Democratic Republic to facilitate the hosting of the Third International Conference.

The Director of the Fanon Research and Development Center, Dr. Lewis King, together with an associate, Dr. Hussein Abdullahi Bulhran, visited Mogadishu in March this year in order to prepare for the Third International Conference under the theme:

«HUMAN DEVELOPMENT MODLES IN ACTION».

A great deal of the success of the Conference is due to the dedication and untiring efforts of the Somali preparatory Committee headed by the Chairman of the HALGAN Editorial, Jaalle Mohamed Aden Sheikh. Its core members consisted of the Senior Editors and other full-time

and part-time staff of HALGAN. The SPC worked in committees and later moved on to assign individual and group responsibilities as follows:

- Agenda Planning
- Speakers Coordinator
- Technical Assistance Activity
- Panel Coordinators
- Papers and Recordings
- Film Documentation.
- Photographers
- Housing and Boarding Affairs
- Air Travel
- Ground Transportation
- Information and Registration
- Guidance and protocol Affairs
- Entertainment and Festivities
- Health and Safety

The Somali Preparatory Committee met several times before the Conference. It also collected several relevant documents on Somalia which were distributed to the participants from abroad

THE MOGADISHU CONFERENCE

The Trinidad Conference placed a great deal of emphasis on the role of the social scientist in promoting social change. The Mogadishu Conference, on the other hand, laid stress on the question of mediating practically dialectical relationship between theory and practice with in historical of particular and singular social formation with special emphasis on the Somali model of human Development.

In order to better grasp the Somali Experience, the Conference participants were divided into the following research oriented field-visit teams:

Group H: Health Migration and Rural Development.

Group R: Health Development.

Group W: Women, work and Human Resources.

Group Y: Youth and Children.

Group C: Culture, Language and Consciousness.

Group S: Social Mobilization and Reconstruction.

With regards to Study Explorations, Groups R and H





visited the Kurtunwarey Agricultural Resettlement programme; Groups W and Y visited the Lafole and Afgoi Revolutionary Youth Centres. Group C visited the sand-Dune project, the Agricultural Crash programmes Qoryoley Refugee Camp and the Fishing Resettlement programme for former nomads situated outside the ancient city of Barawe. The various groups were also able to hear briefing from ministries (Health, Education), agencies (The National Planning Commission, the Somali National University) and social organizations (The Somali Women Democratic Organization).

THE TENTH YEAR OF THE SOMALI REVOLUTION

Accordingly, the Third Fanon Center International attention to the Experience of social transformation acquired in Somalia ever since the Revolution of October 21st 1969. In order to enlighten the conference delegates from abroad the Somali participants presented papers on the following topics:

- Dynamics of Social Change in the Resettlement Area
- The Public Sector in Somalia
- Human Resource Development in Somalia
- The Revolutionary Development of the Somali Language
- Research on the plants used in Traditional Somali Medicine
- Agriculture Development in Somalia
- The Somali Nomadic Education project as an Instrument of social Change
- A Community Health project

Jaalle Amed M. Dualee Vice-Chairman of the Economics Bureau of the CC of the SRSP, delivered an important paper on the «An Overview of planning in Somalia». The other Somali papers presented and participants were drawn mostly from the Somali National University, SIDAM the Academy of Arts and Sciences, the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Health and the organs of the SRSI

and the social organisations

It is indeed fitting that the Fanon Center Mogadishu Conference on social change and models of human development has been held a few months prior to the Tenth Anniversary of the Revolution at a time when the whole nation is examining our decade-long revolutionary Experience. HALGAN plans to edit and publish the Somali material related to the Conference in order to mark this year's October Anniversary.

The importance of holding such international conference was highlighted by the General Secretary of the SRSP and President of the SDR and who paid a surprise visit to the participants during their Friday (June 22nd) evening session at the Uruba Hotel. Jaalle Mohamed Siyad Barre exchanged frank views with the delegates who expressed their gratitude to the president for his attention and insights and to the Somali people for their warmth and hospitality.

On June 24th most of the delegates left for a brief visit to Cairo on their way back to the US and the Caribbeans. A group of about 20 participants left for a brief visit to Nairobi, Kenya and returned to Mogadishu on Thursday June 28th.

On Friday June 29th, the returning group held a highly stimulating panel Discussion at the Central Auditorium of the National University on the theme: «The Role and Responsibility of Intellectuals in the struggle against Under development».



Reflections on the Somali Economy

Considering the theme of the topic, one has to provide a clear picture of the «Economic Transformation in a framework of nomadic pastoralism and Aspects of challenges of Development strategy in Somalia».

Former articles has, no doubt, dealt with topics relating to various aspects of this theme in more depth and detail. I shall, therefore, take it up in a very general way and confine myself to certain aspects of our development strategy

Let me start with, by highlighting very briefly, some basic and key data to serve as background information on the sectoral Economic structure of Somalia.

Area: 640,00 Sq.km. or 64 million hect Coastline: 3000km
Area suitable for crop production 8 Mill. hect. Area suitable for grazing 35 Mill Hect. Population: around 4 mill. Nomadic population: over 70% Agricultural Popul. 15% - 20% Urban: the rest. Estimated rate of population growth 2.83% Estimated per capita income 110 US dollars (the figure adopted by the UN) Rainfall: Two rainy seasons.

1. The «Gu» season (March - April to June),

2. The «Deyr» season (Sept. October to December). Over most of the country annual precipitation varies between 50 to 400 mm. of rain

Rainfall is very erratic with respect both to distribution and to timing and total failures are quite frequent.

Rivers: The only two permanent rivers are the Webi Shabelle and the Juba both in the Southern Part of the country.

Exports: Live animals, Hides and Skins, canned meat, canned dried and frozen fish, Frankincense & Myrrh and finally Banana.

Total value of exports is just over 100 million US dollars a year. More than 85% of this is accounted by livestock products. Remaining 15% comes mostly from Banana.

Imports: Consists mainly of some basic food items, textiles, medicines, fuel, machinery and development equipment.

DEVELOPMENT OBJECTIVES AND IDEOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

Because of the adoption of «Scientific Socialism» by Somalia as its chosen ideology after the October Revolution of 1969, and in line with the party guidelines, the broad goal of economic policy is to bring about economic transformation within a socialist framework, taking, of course into consideration our special conditions, present stage of development and our whole environment.

More specifically, objectives of policy are:

1. To achieve an increasing rate of Economic growth and general development.

2. To ensure that benefits of economic growth and development go to the people as a

whole and to eradicate all forms of economic and social exploitation.

3. To provide employment for the people.

4. To ensure the direct participation of workers at all stages in the process of policy formulation and execution.

5. To meet the «basic needs» of the population in terms of education, Health, food, water supply etc.

INSTITUTIONAL APPROACH

To attain the objective of economic policy, an institutional framework has been adopted which, while placing major reliance on the Public Sector and the formation of co-operatives still accords an important role to the private sector.

PUBLIC SECTOR.

Policy is to give a leading role to this Sector. The aim is to ensure :-

a) That the most strategic sectors of the economy such as Banking, Insurance, key Industries etc. are publicly owned.

b) That the state takes full and direct responsibility for basic utilities such as the provision of electricity, water supplies telecommunication systems and so on.

c) That again the State takes full responsibility for the provision of education and similar services.

d) The establishment of Public Sector monopoly over

the importation and distribution of essential food items, medicines and the purchase, collection and marketing of important agricultural crops.

e) That State takes a leading role and directly participates in the productive sector of the economy through the establishment of State farms, state industries, and other State enterprises in fisheries, shipping, commerce and all other sectors of the economy.

How far has this policy been implemented? The answer is: to a considerable degree as far as the modern sector of the Economy is concerned, the predominant part of this sector especially in all the areas mentioned earlier, is either state owned and managed or else closely controlled by the Government. More than 50 Public Agencies and enterprises engaged in various fields of economic activities have been established since the last nine years in addition to the services directly run by the central Government or local authorities.

In this connection, however, it is necessary to remember that the subsistence sector occupying more than 80% of the population is generally outside Government control from the management point of view. It is also worth to note that while expansion of the State Sector represents a movement in the right direction and accords fully with Party policy guidelines towards the attainment of social and economic objectives, problems and challenges, some of which are of a major proportion have confronted us. I shall discuss some of the issues involved later, but here I just want to mention that, apart from financial constraints and

other resources limitations the shortage of management, professional and technical skills have created formidable problems in our attempts to organise an efficient and expanding Public Sector throughout the economy.

Co-operatives :

Apart from reliance on an expanding public sector for the attainment of economic objectives, we have been according a very high priority to the establishment of co-operatives. These now exist and operate over a wide range of economic fields: In agriculture, industry, handicrafts, fisheries, retail trade and so on. Moreover, with the help and guidance of the Party the movement has organised itself into a very active social organization closely allied with the Party. The movement has developed an elaborate structure starting at the village level and culminating with the Federation of Somali Co-operatives Movement which has its Headquarter in Mogadishu.

The Co-operatives, like the State Sector have also been handicapped by the lack of resources and shortage of technical skills. Consequently their contribution to the national output still remains limited and has fallen somewhat short of expectation particularly in agriculture. However, our needs to bear in mind is that the history of the movement is very recent in the country, and that it needs time and encouragement to overcome the varieties of problems it has been confronted with.

The Private Sector.

I mentioned earlier that over 80% of the population of this

country is engaged in livestock rearing under conditions of nomadic pastoralism or else subsistence farming. Around 90% of our total earnings of Foreign exchange and more than 60% of basic food consumption in the modern sector originate in the subsistence sector. Banana cultivation which constitutes the backbone of our modern agriculture export item, is still in private hands. A sizable part of our industrial production is accounted for by the private sector.

It is quite clear that in the light of our present realities and objective conditions, and in view of the need to mobilise all available resources including our entire population for the purposes of development, the role of private enterprise has to be recognised and given a place in our development strategy. Consequently in the party programme, the private sector has been accorded full recognition, however, it is to be observed that in the modern sector of the Economy the operations and activities of private enterprise have had to follow certain general guidelines with the intention to prevent or minimise the exploitative tendencies of private enterprise on the one hand, and with a view to harness or channel their resources, initiative and dynamism towards areas that would genuinely contribute to development on the other.

Thus private enterprise encouraged to engage mainly in the productive sectors such as farming, small scale industries, handicrafts and so on. Exportation and marketing of livestock and retail trade in general, have been left in private hands. The formation of co-operatives in the latter field

lds of activity has been gaining ground lately.

Private Enterprise has been excluded from areas such as Banking, insurance, import, Trade and wholesale distribution areas which normally tend to attract private enterprise in the developing countries an account of the opportunities they offer for making quick profits, but which for the same reasons, also tend to be more exploitative and wasteful of national Resources.

Sectoral Priorities:

The preponderant role of the livestock sector in the Somali economy and its continued importance for the foreseeable future, is evident. Consequently its claim as a very high priority in the allocation of resources is also clear. But for purposes of our long term development strategy, doubts will necessarily have to be expressed about our continued dependence or reliance on a pastoral Economy.

This has certain implications for the establishment of any order of priority between sectors. Agriculture occupies the next position to livestock in relation to the proportion of the population engaged in it and in relation to its contribution to the national output. However, what is much more important is by far the greater this sector offers.

As regards Fisheries, we have over 3000 Km. of coastline, implying that there are tremendous opportunities for the future and present exploitation of our sea and ocean resources.

With respect to physical infrastructure, the importance of this sector cannot be overestimated. The country is

large and long distances separate the settled parts of it. The development of basic communications still remains embryonic.

The provision for basic needs to the masses such as food, health services, education, water supplies etc. Continue to be urgent in spite of the heroic efforts of the Revolution since 1969, and the attainment of some impressive results particularly in the field of literacy and primary education.

Under these circumstances, the determination of sectoral priorities in terms of resource allocation in any definitive manner would not be an easy task. More so when we recognise the close inter-relationship and inter-dependence of development activities in the various sectors, and give due consideration to the complex social and political factors that inevitably play their role. The fact is, that the development of these key sectors is essential and in line with objectives. Therefore, unblinded approach towards allocation of resources would appear to be a practical choice. Rational utilisation of resources through co-ordinated programs, careful selection of projects, and proper monitoring of investment could only give the necessary impetus to production and the achievement of the desired rates of economic growth.

CONSTRAINTS AND CHALLENGES TO DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY :

The problems which have confronted us in our struggle towards the attainment of national development objectives are many. But I shall take up briefly a few basic ones that have proved to be a real challenge.

First of all there are the kind of problems associated with and actually inherent in transformation of an economy based on nomadic pastoralism. Nomadism is not unique to Somalia but I know of no other country which depends on this kind of economy to the extent we do. For us, nomadism is not something practiced by certain section of the population primarily out of habit and for which they have deep attachment. May be an element of that too. But most certainly in the case of Somalia it is more of a very complex socio-economic system for which people have not been able to find a better and practical alternative as yet. The system is efficient within its own framework. It is not entirely primitive. The nomadic population is closely connected to the monetary sector of the economy, have almost up-to-date informations about markets, provides a substantial market for the products of other sectors, and is highly conscious politically and socially.

From a development standpoint, the problem here is that there is a very delicate ecological balance; between man and his environment; between livestock and availability of grazing on the rangelands, water resources pattern of rain and even the pattern of movement of herds and their type (from the point of view of adaptation). Thus it would prove to be an extremely difficult job to devise schemes to bring about transformation within that framework. For instance any attempt of resettlement within the primarily nomadic areas which cover most of the country, would inevitably imply serious danger for the conditions of the ran-

geland and the very real threat of desertification. The same thing applies to unplanned drilling of wells or the prospects of any substantial increases in livestock and human populations in those areas.

It would appear therefore that the only alternative is to divert the whole future increases in population and even remove a substantial proportion of the present nomadic portion to cultivated agriculture and fisheries. We do have large areas with agricultural potential particularly in the inter-riverine regions and to a lesser degree in the North-west part of the country. There is also no doubt about the development potential in the fisheries sector.

But this Scenario will not be easy to realise in practice :

First of all the nomads who form the bulk of the population are growing at the rate of about 2.83%. So is the rest of population. The total numbers of people that could eventually be observed into, from the long run point of view, offer perhaps a better opportunity.

Secondly when we refer to the absorption capacity of agriculture and fisheries, we are only talking in terms of their potentialities, but the development of these sectors even at a rate that could ensure the absorption of future increase in population, looks like a forbidding task a country like Somalia with very limited resources and technology.

Thirdly removal or translocation of communities to a different environment or way of life may not prove to be a practical proposition ex-

cept under special circumstances like the ones we experienced after the drought of 1974-1975. At any rate it is no easy task.

Finally gradual absorption of growing numbers of people into agriculture and fisheries might seem to be a realistic approach, but in the meanwhile we are haunted by the spectre of a looming image of desertification as a result of the pressure of a growing livestock and human population on the rangelands to say nothing of the exodus of people from the unemployed.

In Somalia, we recognise the urgency, complexity and dimensions of the problem. We regard it as a challenge and we are determined to win. As you have already observed during your visits to some of the resettlement areas in this region, we have already made a start.

The implementation of fishery development projects in many places along the coast, the imminent construction of Bardhere Dam on the Juba, the realisation of the Fanole Dam about to be completed and the many agricultural and other schemes underway, are all but a living testimony to our determination to face up to the challenge.

There are other constraints to our development efforts which, while different in character, yet reinforce the basic dilemmas and difficulties involved in the transformation of nomadic pastoralism as described earlier. One of these, is the limited availability of resources: financially, technologically and in terms of trained manpower admittedly a characteristic feature in the developing world, but defini-

tely more acute in Somalia (listed officially by the UN among the least developed countries) an account of two considerations: First, in view of the geographical proximity to Somalia of the high-income oil producing countries, of Middle East such as Saudi-Arabi and the Gulf states, and because of our close links with those countries, we have been losing large and increasing numbers of our skilled, semi-skilled, professional and experienced people of these countries through migration. The process has proved difficult to contain and the loss of trained cadres is inevitably having adverse effects not only on our central administration and the management of Public enterprises but more seriously on the implementation rates of development projects and programs. Certain measures to counteract the situation have already been taken and some more are under study.

The second consideration is our dependence on foreign aid for the financment of major part of development projects in the plan. Somalia, relatively receives substantial amounts of aid from various sources. But the point is that the conditions normally attached to the use of foreign aid are such as would impose false limits to the absorptive capacity of a country like Somalia. The reason is that apart from the labyrinth of standard bureaucratic requirements and political overtones, by far the biggest hurdle is the requirement for the recipient country to meet the local cost of all foreign financed projects and programmes. Poor countries do not and should not raise local finance by way of the printing machine. It has to be raised through

xation or other means from the local population whose incomes are already very low.

Actually most services run by Government Agencies to meet the basic needs of the people require to be subsidised. But then we are all aware that a major element of development aid policy, from the donor's point of view is to promote the sale of equipment and other goods and services by the donor country and not necessarily to respond to the true needs of development in the recipient country.

Finally, talking of constraints to development strategy in Somalia I should like to refer to another problem which, while different in character than those discussed earlier, yet still have its relevance in this context. This relates to the economic effects of the political conflicts in the Horn of Africa. Here the situation is ambivalent: In respect of Western Somalia under Ethiopian Colonisation, the reality is that while Ethiopia has always kept the region under military occupation, lacked to

cope the struggle with the liberation movements mounting air attacks against civilians and poisoning wells, the actual operation of the economic system of the area has always, since time immemorial formed an integral part of the pastoral economy on which this country is so much dependent. Apart from consideration of political, social, linguistic, religious historical and family ties, the compelling impositions of a pastoral economy and geography have rendered the economy of the area inseparable from that of the Somali Democratic Republic. A certain proportion of the livestock exported through our parts comes from that area, and an even greater proportion of our imports of essential commodities, and non-essential ones for that matter, end up in that region.

In the case of Somalia — Kenya relationship the fact is that Kenya is industrially more developed than Somalia and one would have expected that the Kenyans would take full advantage of the situation. However, due

to Kenya's unfounded suspicions about our political intentions in the NFD, cooperation between the two countries in the economic field, has never really got off the ground substantially way, lately there have been some positive initiatives taken on both sides to correct the situation's development which gives us a better hope for the future. However, the most serious implication of the political and territorial conflict in the Horn of Africa, for development in the Region as a whole is two fold. In the first place the countries of the Region are prevented from being in a position to work out complementary strategies of development and to benefit from regional schemes and programmes of common advantage.

Secondly by maintaining large armies and diverting scarce and urgently needed resources to the purchase of arms, the pace of economic and social transformation in each individual country and for the region as a whole will necessarily be slower.

The role of Political and Social organization in health development

At the outset, I want to offer you brief reflections on the general question of mass mobilization for the promotion of better health generally and, more specifically, the promotion of better foods and nutrition policies and practices. Obviously, political and social organisations are involved in all aspects of development, health promotion being one aspect of the

overall development strategy.

To begin with the main political organ of our country; the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party has adopted a party programme which spells out the socialist oriented strategy towards self-reliance and development. The SRSP programme provides an outline of national development policies, including health development. The recently held Extraordinary Congress of the

SRSP has also adopted the new three year Plan. The plan envisages total expenditures in the health sector of 101.4 million shilling for the three-year period. The annual break-down of these expenditures are as follows:

Party guidance of development planning in Somalia, therefore, gives this political organ the crucial policy and budget formulation role in health development.



Party organs are also involved in the task of implementing such policies. The Central Committee of the SRSP has a Bureau for Social Affairs which helps, not only in the formulation of health, education and related social policies, it is also provided with the means to overview and assist in governmental implementation of social policies and regulations.

Party organs at the lower levels are involved in implementing development policies. At all levels, including the very grass-roots levels, the SRSP has a party Secretary responsible for Social Affairs including the promotion of better health. In various tasks connected with preventive medicine, in campaigns against small-pox, tuberculosis, bilharzia, malaria and other diseases, the party person responsible for social affairs plays a key role in mobilizing the masses in his district or area. The Party is also involved at the grass-roots level in assisting health education including nutrition and domestic science schools.

Working hand in hand with the party in carrying development policies are the social or mass organisations: the General Federation of Somali Trade

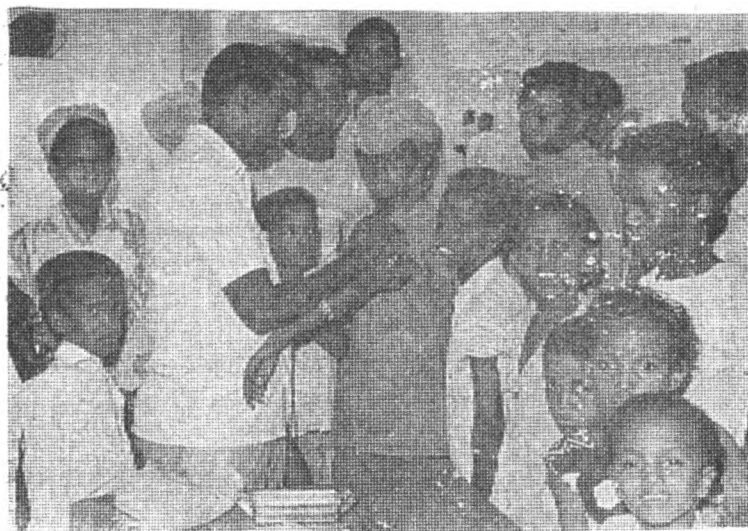
Unions (GFSTU), the Somali Revolutionary Youth Union (SRYU), the Somali Women Democratic Organisation (SWDO) the Movement of Somali Cooperative Organisation (MSCO) and the «Guulwada-yaal» (Victory-Pioneer militia Forces). These organisations have executive organs at the national, regional, district and area levels. In these organs there is invariably someone responsible for social affairs (health and related sectors). The women organisation, the WDO for example, is actively involved in matters pertaining to mothers and child-care: food nutrition, basic hygiene, domestic science education etc. The MSCO is involved in

promoting various types of co-operatives. The agricultural co-operatives are involved in, among other things, the crucial task of producing more and better food. They constitute a backbone in the national attempt to attain food self-sufficiency by 1980. There are also co-operatives involved in distribution of foodstuffs and medicines, including vitamins and vaccines which are important in assuring better nutrition and health.

Let us all recall that the Party and Government structures implement pricing policies aimed at assuring modest prices for basic food-stuffs for the benefit of the poor majority of our people.

In case of scarcities, these structures assure fair distribution through a system of rationing. Our political and social organisations have, through mass orientation centers, distributed sugar at a modest fixed price throughout the country. This important task was conducted for several months during the period when the world-wide crisis had created sugar shortages. The alternative would have been to allow the market to skyrocket national sugar prices there.





by making this basic foodstuff available only to the well-to-do few. Today, sugar is once again sold in shops with the party and government still fixing the price in order to make this vital commodity within the means of the many. The on-going Juba Sugar Project will eventually not only make Somalia self-sufficient in sugar production, it will enable us to enter the camp of sugar exporting countries.

The party organs and those of the SRYU are actively involved in the various Agricultural Crash Programmes aimed at attaining self-sufficiency in food and other agricultural commodities. Accordingly, we can see that the political and social organisations are playing crucial roles in food production, distribution and mass mobilization for health education campaigns and projects.

A good start has been made, but more remains to be done. The SRSP was established very recently, on July 1st 1976. The social organisations mentioned above were reconstituted during 1977. Therefore, they have not yet realized their full potential as organs for overall development, including health development. Nevertheless, the Party and the

social organisations linked to it did not fall from the sky in 1976 and 1977. They have behind them a solid history of organisational efforts aimed at promoting developmental campaigns. Soon after the Revolution the then Supreme Revolutionary Council created a Public Relations Office, which soon developed into a Political office for mass political mobilization, education and organization. The Political Office consisted of a proto-party structure linked to departments for workers, youth, women and Victory Pioneers (Militia).

In 1974, an ambitious Rural Development Campaign was launched consisting of:

- i. Rural literacy,
- ii. Animal health and
- iii. Public health campaign,
- iv. Census

The public health component involved:

1. Preventing Communicable diseases from spreading in the villages.
2. Prolonging life and
3. Promoting health and efficiency through organising the community for :-

- a. Sanitation of the environment;
- b. Control of communicable infections;
- c. Organization of medical and nursing services for early diagnosis and preventive treatment of diseases and
- d. Education of the individual in personal hygiene;
- e. Development of social structures capable of insuring everyone a standard of living adequate for the maintenance of health.

The RDC health unit covered communicable diseases control including vaccinations, health education, maternal and child health, family planning, hygiene in housing and some phases of general medical care. Dr. A. S. Abbas in his paper on «Health Implications of the Rural Development Campaign»,

1. observes: «Since the districts are subdivided into a variable number of villages and sub-villages, accordingly a curative and a vaccinating team was assigned, composed of 2 vaccinators, and a nurse accompanied by a trained Guulwade».

2. In fact, the Victory-Pioneers (Guulwade) as well as other elements under the Political Office of the SRC, played important roles in the RDC involving rural mass literacy and health.

All regional and district representatives of the then Political Office of the SRC were actively involved not only in the organization of the RDC but in all the day to day tasks carried out to insure its success.

3. In his paper, Dr. A. S.

Abbas remarks: «The district health officer in command of the rural health unit felt accountable to the local community for successfully carrying out his responsibility for protection of the health of the community in the most efficient and economic manner, within the limits of resources made available by the community».

4. Now, «being accountable to the local community» could imply various things depending on the concrete historical conditions of various countries. In some countries, this could imply being accountable to a local chief or king, together with his entourage of local notables (mostly landlords). In revolutionary Somalia, this essentially implied being accountable to the organised representatives of the community constituted in basic committees of the political and social organisations.

At another point in his paper, Dr. Abbas writes: «The availability of good roads and means of transportation had their impact on the shape and pattern of health organization. Development of health facilities at points within easy access to homes has been kept in mind and considered to meet the needs of the rural areas».

5. During the RDC, the political and social organs mobilized the masses to create new roads. These not only facilitated the implementation of the campaign, they also bound the previously isolated village with the district market. Thus trade and other social activities began to emerge in these previously isolated villages.

The health aspect of the RDC involved, among other things administering blood

sample tests to 129,696 persons of which 18,526 showed positive malaria cases. Extensive work was also undertaken to detect tuberculosis and small-pox cases. A total of 1,613,125 individuals were treated of various diseases during the RDC.

The RDC helped to close the urban-rural gap. It has made the rural person conscious of the need of preventing the preventable and curing the curable diseases. Dr. Abbas concluded thus: «Without local involvement, participation, stimulation of community interest and dedicated assumption of responsibility by the local people, public health programmes would not have achieved the obtained results. Small-pox and cholera which had their outbreak in the neighbouring countries and tuberculosis which is a menace to the nation, would have remained uncontrolled in the majority of the rural communities, if it was not covered with preventive vaccination».

6. The Political and social organisations played pivotal roles in the «stimulation of community interest and dedicated assumption of responsibility by local people». This fact was once again demonstrated in the campaign to fight the severe drought that afflicted Somalia in 1974-75. It was also demonstrated in the campaign to wipe out small-pox from Somalia. The excellent WHO film on the small-pox campaign fully reveals the role of political and social organisations (for example, several shots depict mass health education gatherings held at revolutionary orientation centers).

In involving itself so actively in the RDC and other campaigns, the Political Office of

the SRC and its structures were able to mature and develop into the SRSP and the social organisations mentioned above.

Let us once again emphasise the point that much more needs to be done. In order to facilitate greater progress in future, it is necessary, among other things, to break down the barrier between the so-called reds and experts, in terms of health this means closing the gap between the political and social cadres and the technical cadres of the Ministry of Health and related agencies. Among other things, it is necessary:

a. To select more technical cadres from the Ministry of Health to attend the Party Political Institute and related courses for political education, mobilization and education;

b. To include Courses on health, hygiene, food and nutrition sciences and policies for the cadres of the political and social organisation;

c. Creating or strengthening development oriented committees consisting of political and technical cadres;

A political or social organisation cadre or leader who is also professionally an expert is better able to win the confidence of the local people he is expected to mobilize and organize. Such a leader/cadre is also better able to participate in the process of formulating sound health policies, programmes or projects.

The philosopher Aristotle once talked about philosopher-kings essentially he meant men of action, decision makers who are at the sametime highly knowledgeable. The division between reds and experts

Continued on Page 33

PARTY LIFE



Jaalle Siad closed a seminar for the Secretaries and Party representatives



The General Secretary of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party, President of the Somali Democratic Republic, Jaalle Mohamed Siyad Barre closed a seminar for the Secretaries and Party Representatives at the Police Academy on 23rd June. In the Seminar issues concerning the articles of the National Draft Constitution and its referendum were discussed. Lectures were often offered by the Somali intellectuals who were responsible in the preparation of the draft constitution.

Jaalle Siyad's closing speech emphasised that the constitution was the product engendered by the 1st, 2nd

and 3rd Charters of the Revolution and for that sake all parties and progressive people are expected to give special consideration and respect.

Jaalle Siyad also mentioned that the constitution is one of the fundamental pillars of nationhood, it is the law that manifests the life and freedom of the Somali people. On the other hand it assures the inalienable rights and tasks of the individual. Jaalle Siyad called upon the members participated in the Seminar that it is their task to implement the laws set forth to safeguard the rights of the members of the nation, development of

the country and defence of the motherland.

The President requested the Party Secretaries of the regions and districts to consistently cope with the peoples concerned so that their problems may be alleviated sooner. He urged them to increase their revolutionary diligence in order to fulfil the awaiting tasks.

Eventually the President extended thanks to the technical committee for the preparation of the draft constitution. Before the General Secretary a word of introduction and report was delivered by Jaalle Huseen Kulmiye Afrah Vice-President and Assistant in the Presidential Affairs.

Party cadres seminar closed

The Assistant Secretary General of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party and Vice President of the Somali Democratic Republic

B/General Ismail Ali Abokor have concluded a Party Cadre Seminar held at the Party Headquarters.

The five (5) days seminar

which began 3rd and ended 8th July have disclosed an overall study concerning the 14 articles of the draft constitution of the nation and

the laws governing its referendum.

The study programme and the courses offered during the short period of the seminar were given by Somali intellectuals and experts who as well participated in the formulation of the draft constitution.

In his concluding speech, the Assistant Secretary General Comrade Ismail Ali Abokor pointed out, the role of the Party Cadres in propagating the draft constitution and likewise transmitting to the Somali people the seminar.

Further more, Comrade Ismail Ali Abokor stressed for the preparation of the Party Cadres to sincerely take part

in the tasks laid for the constitutional referendum. Moreover, he emphasized the role of the partisans in the execution of the national draft constitution.

«As pointed out by the 7th article of the national constitution», Comrade Ismail said, The Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party is the highest power in the leadership of country, pioneering to genuine equality, justice and overall progress». He also stated the responsibilities of the Cadres and the other partisans in safeguarding the wealth of the nation, in defending the achievements of the Revolution and fighting against the baseless and provocative propaganda of the

phrase-mongers.

Comrade Ismail discussed the tasks confronting the seminar Cadres and the way of transmitting their experience and knowledge of the draft constitution to Somali people.

Before, Comrade Ismail's speech, an informative report welcoming and receptive remarks was given by the Chairman of Mobilization Bureau of the Central Committee, Comrade Abdulqadir Haji Mohamed.

In his remarks Comrade Abdulqadir showed the general and detailed overview of the significance of the seminar, its contents and objectives.

The 2nd session of the central committee of SRYU



In Mogadishu, the capital, the Second Session of the Central Committee of the Somali Revolutionary Youth Union (SRYU) was held. The session which was staged at the Organisation Centre on 5-7th July, 1979 have

discussed a wide-range of organisational activities. During the two-days Session of the Central Committee of the Somali Revolutionary Youth Union (SRYU), significant and comprehensive reports were delivered by

different Committees of the respective Sections of the organisation, such as; the Executive Committee; the Inspection and Auditing Committee of the Central Committee of the organisation. Within these reports the Committees have disclosed the different and many-sided tasks executed during the life span of the organisation, the mobilisation level of the organisation and other current tasks to be done. Moreover, the Central Committee of the Somali Revolutionary Youth Union have discussed fruitfully the presented issues, of work plan, the statute of the organisation and the by-law. Among other things, the Second Session has, also, discussed tasks related to world economy and poli-

tics; the national draft constitution, the preparations for its referendum. Within that framework, the Second Session of the Central Committee of the Somali Revolutionary Youth Union have made a clear decision of calling for the full participation of all the organisation members and generally all the Somali youth in the tasks pertaining to the fulfillment of the draft Constitution of the country.

The Central Committee of the Somali Revolutionary Youth Union in its Second Session has made amendments and additions in the Statute of the organisation and more concretely significant changes has been made in the by-law of the finance department while as the sametime the Second Session adopted and approved the by-law of the Organisation. At end of the Session an invitation was made for the member-participants by Comrade Ahmed Suleyman Abdulle, Member of the Polit-Bureau and the Commander of the National Security Service.

The Resolutions adopted at the Second Session of the Somali Revolutionary

Youth Union (SRYU) have called for; the realisation and execution of the Resolutions of the extra-ordinary Congress of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party (SRSP); the establishment and strengthening the fruits and achievements of the Revolution; strengthening the just struggle aiming at the realisation of the objective purposes of the Somali nation which is securing the genuine unity of our people; supporting the just struggle of the Western Somali and Abbo-Liberation Movement and defending the sovereignty of the Somali nation; Organisations, unification and raising the political consciousness of the Somali You-

th; to raise the upbringing, training and educating the flowers of the Revolution U.K.O. Taking a great role in increasing the labour productivity, raising the quality of production and the development of socialist emulation in the working centres.

Lastly, the Resolution of the 2nd Session of the Central Committee of the Somali Revolutionary Youth Union has severely condemned all colours of colonialism and particularly the repressive policy and the unjust massacring of the Western Somali, Abbo and Eriterean peoples by the Abyssinian regime.



Co-ordinator's seminar closed

Somali Women Democratic organization

The Vice-President of the Somali Democratic Republic Comrade Huseen Kulmiye Afrah has officially closed a Seminar for 130 member of the Co-ordinators of (SWDO) on 19th July at the Police Accademy.

The Seminar continued for one month in which the participants learned various lessons concerning the programme of the National Constitution, Children's Year Programme, the role of the working women in

the nation-building and their tasks relating to the work-centers of SWDO.

At the end of the Seminar the following issues were put forward to be implemented:-

1. To increase the mobilisation of the members of the SWDO at the work centers.

2. To link up with the working members of the union at the district.

3. To motivate the working women with the principle of love for work.

4. To play a great role on the contribution for the children's account and offer it to 41,700/= So. Shs.

5. The need for building other kinder-gartens.

6. The women workers

should take part in implementing the family the law etc.

Among the economic aspects that SWDO resolved in their plan, there include:

To initiate economic sources which could benefit the union such as establishment of super-market, small factories etc.

— To launch a struggle against corruption, tribalism, regionalism and so on.

— To support any just struggle including the Somali West, Abbo and Eritrean Liberation Movements

against the Ethiopian colonisation.

— Comrade Kulmiye emphasised in his closing speech the need for such seminars specially for this period of preparation for the referendum of the Cons. titution and the 10th anniversary of the October Revolution.

The Vice-President also mentioned the role of women in nation-building at this revolutionary period.

Lastly, Comrade Kulmiye told the SWDO to double their activities and diligence.

A friendly visit

A delegation of the Communist Youth Union of the Peoples Republic of China, led by the First Vice - Chairman of the Union Leiu arrived in Somalia on June 18th.

The delegation consisting of 5 persons among them include the General-Secretary of the Chinese Students arrived here after an invitation extended by the SRYU. The delegation remained here for a period of two-weeks from June 18th-July 5th. The delegation held visits to North-Western Region, Lower Shabelle



and Middle Shabelle in which they were hosted by the SRYU of the respective regions.

The delegation held talks with the Executive Commi-

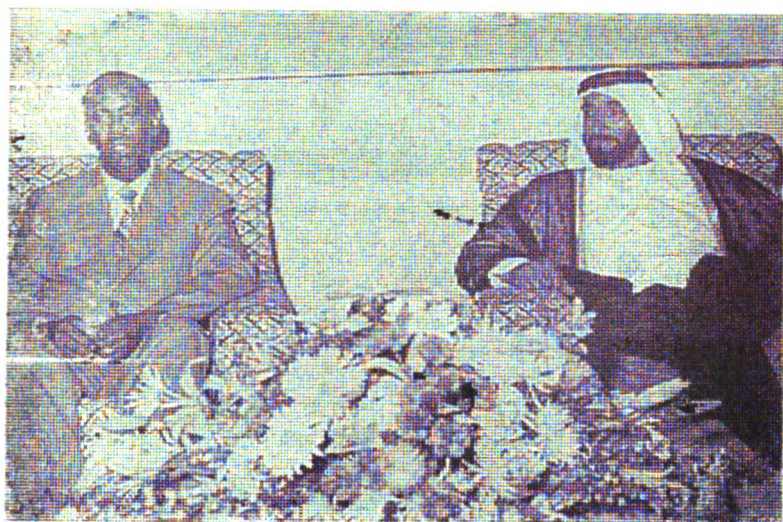
tee of the SRYU concerning the consolidation of the friendly relations existing between the two Unions and unanimously agreed that a delegation from the SRYU should go to China next year.

The delegation also met with the Assistant Secretary General of the SRSP Jaalle Ismail Ali Abokar and the chairman of the Mobilisation Bureau Jaalle Abdullaqadir H. Mohamed. They left the country with jubilation and enthusiasm towards the Somali people, government and the SRSP.

MONTHLY BULLETIN



Jaalle Siad tours Arab states



The Secretary General of the SRSP and President of Somalia Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre and members of his delegation returned home on 12th July after a ten day tour of Six Arab Countries - Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Bahrain, Kuwait, Qatar and the United Arab Emirates.

Speaking to newsmen at the presidency, the President said that he was accorded cordial and warm welcome by the leaders and peoples of the countries he visited «Our talks with the leaders of these countries dealt with the brotherly relations between Somalia and their countries as well as Arab affairs and international Issue», he said. Answering a question on strengthening the unity of the Arab world, Jaalle Siad expressed

firm belief that the Arabs would soon come to a closer understanding, find solution for their present problems and gear all their efforts towards the consolidation of Arab Unity and interests. The president hoped that Arab discord would not be serious as the enemies of the Arab Unity

would have liked it to be.

On the then forthcoming summit of the (OAU) convened at Liberia capital of Monrovia, the President Siad that due to the similarity of their circumstances, the Arabs and Africans share common interests which necessitate the further strengthening of their cooperation and unity.

The president disclosed that he held various meetings with the Somali communities living in the countries he visited, «The communities», he said, «expressed their readiness to contribute to the defence and development of their country»

In Abu-Dhabi on 10th July official talks between the Somali Presidential delegation and the leaders of the UAE took place.



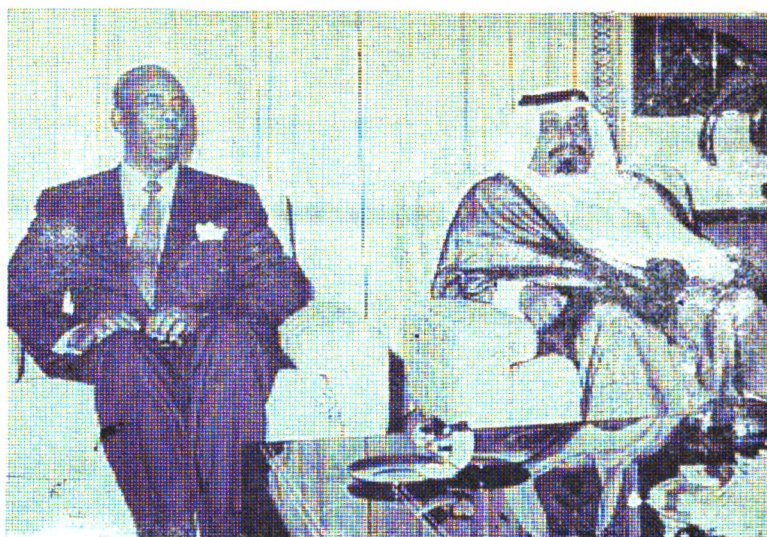
The talks focussed on bilateral relations as the well as the middle East, the Horn of Africa and International Issues.

President Siad and the Minister of Agriculture Jaalle AHMED HASSAN MUUSE, and Minister of State at the Presidency, Jaalle OMAR ARTE GHALIB took part in the talks on the Somali side. While the president of the UAE Sheikh Sayid Bin Sultan Al-Nahyan, the UAE Foreign Minister and defence and other senior officials participated on behalf of their country.

In Doha on 4th July following a warm reception upon arrival by Emir Khalifa, heir apparent Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa, Senior Qatari officials and the Somali community living there, official talks between the leaders of Somalia and Qatar were conducted covering bilateral relations, Arab Affairs and international issues.

In Riad Saudi Arabia the first stop in the Arab tour on 6th July, the two leaders (President Siad and his majesty Khalid Bin Abdulaziz of Saudi Arabia) began talks.

The talks concerned ways of further strengthening bilateral cooperation in the economic, cultural and social fields. Attending the talks were Somalia Ministers and the Ambassador in Riad, SHEIKH ABDULLE MAHAMUD; on the Saudi side, the crown prince Fahd bin Abdulaziz, defence Minister Amir Sultan, Finance Minister, Mohamed Abulkhyr, Minister of Health, Hussein AL-Jazari; and Saudi ambassador to Somalia Mr. Taha Al-Deghatar.



In Kuwait on 9th July President Siad concluded official talks on further strengthening the excellent relations between the two countries, Middle East, the Horn of Africa and International issues, with the Emir of Kuwait, Sheikh Jabir

Al-Ahmed Al-Sabah.

The Presidential delegation included; Agriculture Minister Jaalle Colonel Ahmed Hassan Musa, Minister at the Presidency, Jaalle OMAR ARTE, Minister of Finance Jaalle. MOHAMED YUSUF WEYRAH.

The National draft constitution



«The Constitution is the determining factor shaping the economical, social and the political activities of a society. It is essential that a sovereign country should

have laws defining the relationship between its society as well as its linkage with the rest of the World. It is the cornerstone and highest judicial form organizing the

life of the society, «said Jaalle Ahmed Ashir Botan, the chairman of the technical committee for promulgating the projected Somali constitution.

Jaalle Botan who is also the minister of culture and higher education gave an interview on 5th June 1979 to local newsmen.

Referring to the different stages which the formulation of the draft constitution has passed, he stated that the founding Congress of the SRSP held in July 1976, decided on the establishment of a constitution within five years as well as the setting up of a committee to prepare with the assistance of the various government organs.

«The constitution», he said generally reflects the feelings, environment and social conditions of the Somali nation as laid down in the 1st, 2nd and 3rd chapters of the October revolution, as well as articles 17, 18, 19 of the law formulated by the founding Congress, party and social organizations Statutes and programmes, and in general all the laws established since the inception of the Revolution».

Jaalle Botan stated that in drafting the Constitution Arab, African and other international laws were referred or consulted approaching from three perspectives namely, countries we share the same Islamic faith, those we share the same ideology and those we have in common with the same natural environment.

He said that the constitu-



tion consists of 114 Articles which mainly deal with the foreign Policy, economy and the rights and duties of the Somali citizen, adding that Somalia is socialist Republic led by the SRSP and that the social organizations should play a significant role in the country's development.

It also spells out that Somalia would follow the policy of positive non-alignment and maintains the principles of peaceful co-existence among all people of the World.

The Chairman said that the constitution declares that Somalia gives an unswerving support to liberation movements who are fighting for freedom and independence and at the same time it guarantees for Somali citizens full freedom and rights.

Speaking on the differences between the old constitution which existed before the birth of the Revolution and the present one, he said that the former was not in compliance with the social situation and that foreign personalities who did not

consider Somali peoples' interests were involved in its Drafting, whereas the current constitution is in harmony with the actual social life and proceeds from the experience of the nine years of the Revolution.

The Chairman pointed out that the constitution follows socialist national plan and at the same time encourages and appeals to private enterprises to participate actively in the economic development of the country, provided they do not contradict national interest.

He also declared that the proposed constitution will be put to public referendum in which every citizen «who is sane and not less than 18 years would cast his vote» adding that polling stations would be set up throughout the country.

The Chairman said that the constitutional campaign has officially been declared open. Meanwhile a mammoth mass rally-wounding up the weeklong constitutional campaigns and demonstrations in support of the national draft constitution and regulations for the

referendum was staged at the 21st October square on the 24th of July.

Taking part in the Rally were huge crowds of people exceeding 500,000 persons comprising workers, social organizations and members of the armed forces and other city dwellers. They carried placards and chanted slogans showing their total support to the draft constitution.

Addressing the mass rally was Vice-President and Assistant Secretary General of the SRSP Jaalle Brigadier General Ismail Ali Abokor.

In his speech Jaalle Ismail praised the Revolutionary forces for their patriotism and enthusiasm in expressing their total support to the draft constitution by staging such a mammoth gathering.

Jaalle Ismail pointed out that the constitution was one of the pledges made by the Revolution at its inception and added that it is a result of ten years of Revolutionary experience in the country. «The constitution which is a product of the Somali people's struggles for political, economic and social progress indeed, provides a useful guide for the nation» stressed the vice-president.

Thre Vice-president said: «There exists anti-revolutionary and anti-Somali elements bent on mis-interpreting the draft constitution and misleading the Somali people, but the draft constitution is devoid of any loopholes to be exploited by the reactionary elements». Jaalle Ismail stated that the constitution stipulates



that Somalia is a socialist state led by the progressive working forces where the citizens regardless of sex enjoy equal rights.

He declared that the articles of the constitution provide for a democratic leadership and administration guaranteeing full freedom to the individual.

The Assistant Secretary General of the SRSP said that the constitution, if respected and abided by, is one of the best constitution in the World.

REFERENDUM POSTPONED FOR AUGUST 25th.

Meanwhile Somali Vice-President Jaalle Major General Hussein Kulmie Afrah who is the chairman of the National committee for the constitutional referendum on 25th July announced that the date of conducting the constitutional referendum originally scheduled on 16th August has been postponed for nine days - until the 25th of the same month.

He added that this postponement followed the ap-

proval by the SRSP politbureau of recommendations made by the national committee for the constitutional referendum.

Speaking about the reasons which brought about the postponement, Jaalle Kulmie stated that this arose out of the need of the Somali people to get sufficient time to learn and digest the contents of the draft constitution.

«Another factor is that those who are living in the rural areas must be provided with adequate time so that all of them must have an access to the draft constitution» added the Vice-president.

Jaalle Kulmie called on the regional and district officials as well as Party members to exert maximum efforts in enabling each and every citizens of the country to fully understand the contents of the draft constitution by continuously holding seminars and meetings for the people. He also urged the people on their part to prepare themselves fully in order to cast their votes.

Fanon center's Mogadishu conference

The third international conference of the FRANTZ FANON research and development center opened in Mogadishu Somalia on June 18th, 79 and ended on 24th June 1979.

It was attended by leading Black intellectuals from the United States of America, the Caribbean and Panama on one hand and on the other, by Somali intellectuals.

The conference was declared «Open» on the eve of June 18th, 1979 by Dr MOHAMED ADEN SHEIKH the Chairman of the Ideology Bureau of the Central Committee of the SRSP, and was reciprocated by a speech from the leader of the delegates, Dr. LEWIS M. KING Director of the Fanon Research and Development Center and Professor of Psychiatry at Drew Post Graduate Medical School and University of CALIFORNIA at LOS ANGELES, USA.

In his opening speech Jaalle Mohamed highlighted his remarks by an apt quotation from the late FRANTZ FANON: «People must know where they are going and why: The future remains a close book so long as the consciousness of the people remain imperfect elementary». Interpreting FANON's idea with the noble task of nation-building and political awakening, Somalia has embarked upon the choice of a socialist mode of development. The Chairman gave a lengthy



description of how socialist Somalia is dialectically linking socio-economic change and political development. By citing some of the salient features of Somali's development, the chairman depicted Somalia's change from mass spontaneity to political consciousness from nomadism to communalism and ultimately toward socialism.

Commenting on the October 21, 1969 Revolution, the chairman emphasized the declared objectives of the revolution is that of constituting a society based on work, social justice and equality.

The theme of the conference; «HUMAN DEVELOPMENT MODELS IN ACTION» was extremely fitting for the Somali environment in which it took place. For Somalia today is undergoing a tremendous socio-political and economic transformation which is positively affecting every face of this nation's life.

The theoretical elaborations, the contents of the papers presented, and the empirical examples cited in the entire seminar evidenced the great significance and affinity between theory and practice or research application.

What crowned the conference with the success it achieved, however, were in fact the various field trips: to Kurtunwarey, Qoryooley, Barawe, the Revolutionary Youth Centers and other Orientation Centers. The visit to these areas gave every participant the unique opportunity to observe and see with his own eyes how theories of migration, resettlement and cooperatives are being practically lived in Somalia.

Furthermore the dedication, the work ethic and selflessness shown by the people in these areas were a true source of inspiration for the entire group. The trips precipitated a social milieu filled with warm hu-

man touches, a feeling that will hopefully set a precedent in the bridges we are all building to link black people every where.

To cap it all, the conference reached its climax and felt greatly honoured when the president of SDR JAA. LLE MOHAMED SIAD BARRRE, paid an unexpected visit to the conference. The president responding candidly and informatively discussed each participants questions adequately and exhaustively. The President wished the conference a week of productive work and success.

The conference was declared «Closed» on June 24, 1979 by JAALLE AHMED ASKIR BOTAN, Minister of Higher Education and Culture. The Minister in his conclusive speech praised

the exchange of invaluable ideas between the Somali and the visiting Scholars. While commenting on these excellent intellectuals' contributions, the Minister reminded all the delegates the tough work ahead and said «to implement such ideas requires concrete proposals or projects, reliable methods of communications, patience and optimism». He then promised the guest delegates that «We on our part will do everything in our power to facilitate the exchange of personnel and material between Somalia and black peoples everywhere».

Prior to their departure to Kenya and Egypt the entire delegation, and all Somalia participants were invited to a reception at Hotel Juba by Jaalle Ibraahim

Yuusuf Aburas, the Mayor of Mogadisho.

It was a night of sincere intimacy among all that were present. After the wellcoming speech by the Mayor, there was poetry recited and performance by the «Flowers of the Revolution». Late on gifts and souvenirs were given to the FANON Center and the Leaders of the delegation.

In a bid to acquaint Somali Scholars and students with the visiting scholars a panel entitled the «Responsibility of intellectuals towards social change and development» was held a few days later. It focused on the role of intellectuals, their commitment in the struggle for self-determination and the fight against racism and social injustice.

Non-aligned meeting in Colombo

The ministerial coordinating Bureau of the non-aligned movement ended in Colombo its 7day meeting on June Current international issues.

Here are the main political points of the final communique adopted.

1. Policy and role of the non-alignment movement in international affairs;

The bureau welcomed the dismantling of certain multilateral military alliances such as CENTO and SEATO, and warned against new arrangements and alliances which would serve the purpose as the military

alliances of the cold war era.

They reaffirmed that the essence of non-alignment involved the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, apartheid, racism, including zionism, exploitation, great power and bloc policies and all forms of foreign occupation, domination and hegemony.

while noting the progress made in the U.S.—U.S.S.R. negotiations on strategic arms limitation, the Bureau expressed great concern over the intensification of the arms race, particularly the nuclear arms race.

2. Peaceful settlement

of disputes among member states. The bureau noted with concern the danger of the weakening of the Resolutions of the movement by the growing escalation of bilateral disputes into armed conflicts.

It took note of the SRI-LANKAN proposal for the establishment of a commission for the settlement of border disputes within the non-aligned movement.

3. International Question—Africa: The bureau reaffirmed the definitive recommendations contained in the MAPUTO (MOZAMBIQUE) final communique to achieve the objectives of southern Africa.

It denounced the economic and military support given to south Africa by the U.S. France, Britain, Germany, Israel, Japan, Belgium and Italy, and it reaffirmed that not withstanding the Smith-Muzorewa regime Rhodesia remained a British colony and illegal and racist regime.

The bureau reaffirmed its solidarity to the patriotic front of Zimbabwe, to the South West African peoples organization (SWAPO) and to the Republic of COMOROS «IN its struggle for the freedom of the Island of MAYOTTE illegally occupied by France».

It welcomed the establishment of an organization of African Unity (OAU) adhoc committee on Western Sahara and supported the rights to self-determination of the Saharan people.

Middle East: The bureau said the solution to the palestinian question must be within the framework of the United Nations and on the basis of UN resolutions and non-aligned decisions.

CYPRUS: The bureau called for the immediate withdrawal of all foreign armed forces and every other foreign military presences and stressed the urgent need for the safe return of all refugees to their homes.

— Indian Ocean: The bureau called upon the U.S. and the USSR resume talks which must be based on the declaration of the Indian Ocean zone of peace

SOUTH EAST ASIA: The bureau noted with grave concern rising tension and conflicts in the Region and hoped that the countries of the region would try to solve them on the basis of the non-aligned principles. Asian consultation on the establishment of a zone of neutrality in the region.

LATIN AMERICA: The bureau supported Argentina claim on the Melvinas Islands, and confirmed the rights of the people of Puerto Rico and Belize to self-determination.

It asked for the speedy re-institution of democratic rights in Chile, condemned the «Somoza Tyranny» in Nicaragua and affirmed its solidarity with the government of Grenada.

HUMAN RIGHTS: The bureau reiterated the need for strict respect for human rights and affirmed that this matter should not be exploited as a political instrument of the great powers in the competition between social systems or for interference in the internal affairs of sovereign countries

SVENH SUMMIT: The bureau will recommend to the next summit in september an offer from Iraq to host the following summit, and an offer from India to host the conference of non-aligned foreign Ministers in 1981.

The non-aligned countries finished the full policy debate with Iran and Pakistan saying they were ready to join the 88 Member movement.

Representatives of the countries told a meeting of the

25 Nation coordinating bureau they severed links with the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO) earlier this year and were genuinely non-aligned.

They denied they were interfering in the internal affairs of other countries.

Deputy foreign minister of Iran, declared that Iran will support the UN charter and uphold the principles of the non-aligned movement.

Pakistan's delegate, said Pakistan was deeply committed to the Principles of non-alignment and it looked forward to act in concern with the other members to strengthen the movement and to build a new world order.

Most of the delegates welcomed these two countries membership and have also supported similar applications from Grenada, Suriname and Bolivia.

NICARAGUA following the fall of SOMOZA has applied for full membership in non-aligned movement, asking the coordinating Bureau of non-aligned countries to decide on this application during the sixth Summit of heads of state and governments to be held next september. Nicaraguan foreign Minister sent a letter to Bureau chairman and Sri Lankan foreign Minister A.C.S. Hameed, pointing out that the Nicaraguan National Reconstruction government has firm intention to follow foreign policy consistent with the principles of non-alignment.

Children's day marked



Party Secretary and President of Somalia Jaalle Mohamed Siyad Barre on 18th June attended a ceremony marking the eighth anniversary of Flowers of the Revolution (FOR).

The ceremony held at the National Theatre was also attended by Vice President KULMIE and C.C. Members and representatives of Social Organizations.

A play depicting the unforgettable role taken by the Revolution in safeguarding and promoting the conditions of children was presented by the flowers of October Revolution.

The actors, playwrights and also those who participated in the activities aimed at marking the children's day were complemented by the president in a speech he delivered on the occasion.

Jaalle Siad extended his greetings to the members of the flowers of the revolution.

tion and their parents wishing them many happy returns.

The President spoke about the objectives for which the (FOR) were established and achievements attained this end.

He pointed out that they have contributed much to the promotion of the image and dignity of the country adding that the role they have played in the efforts towards National development is manifest for everyone to see.

On the international year of the Child, Jaalle Siad called upon Somalis to leave no stone unturned in promoting the conditions of children in compliance with the declaration made by the United Nations.

He called for the establishment of centers for maintaining child conditions in all districts of the country.

Meanwhile, on the same day the SDR Vice-President Jaalle Hussein Kulmie Afrah laid the foundation stone for a construction project to be set up for stimulating children's welfare at Yaqshid district in Mogadishu.

The construction project consists of centre for Flowers of the revolution, mother and child care hospital Home economic School. This is the first phase of a series of projects to be undertaken for the international year of the child.

The inauguration ceremony, which was held in commemoration of the 8th anniversary of the founding of the Flowers of October Revolution, was attended by SRSP, C.C. Members.

Similar projects were inaugurated on the 18th of June by the Ministers for Health and Education at Bondhere, Wardhigley, Waberi and Hamar Jab Jab districts.

Overall expenditure on these projects is estimated at 3 million Shillings including self-help and voluntary labour of the masses.

To crown the festive ceremonies and activities pervading on the occasion the flowers of October Revolutionary Youth Organization laid wreaths of Flowers at Hawo Tako, Seyid Mohamed and the Unknown Soldiers Monuments to mark the 8th anniversary since the foundation of the flowers of the October Revolution similar celebrations were held all over the country.

Information spokesman issues statement

A spokesman of the Ministry of Information and National Guidance gave a statement on 10th July 1979.

The contents of the statement depicted as follows:

«Baseless accusation, naked threats of aggression against the government and people of the SDR, have now become a familiar hallmark of almost every major speech or public statement made by the leader of Addis-Ababa regime.

While actively engaged in preparation for undertaking wide-scale armed aggression against Somalia, he wishes to create a convenient pretext for such action, he wishes to create a convenient pretext for such action by indulging in the repetition of utter falsehoods and sheer fabrications of direct Somali involvement in the Western and ABBO Liberation struggles.

These aggressive statements emanating from Addis-Ababa are a clear indication of the bankruptcy of the policies of the regime who in their short-sighted belief thought that the Eritrean, Western Somali, Abbo and Tigre and other questions could be quickly and brutally resolved through military means.

Following the escalation of armed struggle by WSLF, SALF, ELF, TPLF and other the temporary gains achieved

by the regime through active military support of foreign troops, are being gradually eroded.

Their military inability to totally crush the valiant liberation forces and kill their determination to free themselves from alien subjugation, has now led the Addis Ababa regime to act in desperation by engaging in hostile and aggressive actions against Somalia and other neighbouring countries.

The statement continued, «Their aggressive designs on their neighbours seems to well into the scheme of super-power ambitions in the strategic Horn of Africa region and the adjacent areas. It can therefore be safely assumed that the Addis-Ababa regime is assured of the continued support and military backing of this superpower in their effort to create destabilization and insecurity through acts of constant provocation, escalation of hostilities and armed aggression.

In assuming this highly dangerous role, they expect that the super-power in question will be committed more thoroughly to the preservation of the regime in power, whose very survival totally dependent upon foreign military, economic and political support.

«Within this broad perspective, the current preparation for war and threats

invasion against Somalia by Mengistu and his cohorts assumes grave implications for the maintenance of the already fragile peace in the area and for the security of the whole region and entire world.

Despite years of senseless killings, bloodshed and violence the Addis-Ababa regime has failed to appreciate the futility of wars of aggression and remains blind to the disastrous consequences of major escalation of hostilities in the area.

«Somalia seeks peace, understanding and harmonious relations with all nations, more particularly with its immediate neighbours. Those war-mongers in Addis-Ababa whose sole aim is to disturb peace and embroil the area in endless wars are served advance notice that, if they continue in their folly, they shall be dealt a devastating blow, which they shall never forget.

«If their aim is to intimidate Somalia and its people into abandoning the legitimate cause of peoples under alien Ethiopian domination, they are in for big disappointment for we shall remain motion of the just aspiration firm in our commitment to the charter principles of U.N. and OAU for the and freedom» concluded the spokesman of peoples everywhere to realize their inalienable rights to self-determination statement.

The 16th OAU Summit

The 16th session of the assembly of heads of states and government of the organization of African Unity

(OAU) ended a 4day conference in Monrovia on 21st July after intensive discussions on the vital issues

facing the continent.

On the eve of the Summit conference the president of Somalia Jaalle Mohamed



Siad Barre left Mogadiscio at the head of a high level delegation to attend the meeting.

Briefing newsmen at the airport earlier, President siad expressed his hope that the summit would come up with decisions beneficial to the African people.

The opening ceremony in Monrovia was attended by 26 heads of state, three deputy president, five prime Ministers, and three Secretary Generals of International Organizations.

Countries represented by heads of state were: Somalia, Algeria, Angola, Benin, Burundi, Comoroun, Cape Verde, Comoros, Congo, Egypt, Gabon, Gambia, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Upper Volta, Liberia, Mozambique, Nigeria, Uganda, Senegal Sao Tome, Sierra Leone, Sudan, Tanzania, Togo and Sychelles.

Kenya, Equatorial Guinea, and Ruwanda were represented at the summit by their deputy presidents, while Lesotho, Mauritani, Swaziland, Zaire and Zambia were represented by their Prime Ministers.

Secretary Generals of International Organizations

were; Kurt Waldheim (U.N.), Amadaus Mahtar Mbow (UMESCO) and Chadli Klitbi (ARAB LEAGUE). The European Economic Community was represented by CLAUDE CHEYSSON. Zimbabwe-Rhodesia Patriotic Front co-leaders Mugabe and Nkomo and SWAPO President were also present.

The 4day conference debated 10 point agenda finalized by the OAU foreign Ministers earlier for the heads of state and government summit.

THE AGENDA INCLUDED:

- The nomination of the summits bureau
- OAU Secretary General's report on the period from July 1978 to July 1979.
- Adoption of recommendations of the 32nd and 33rd Ministers council's ordinary sessions.
- Ad Hoc commission report on the Western Sahara.
- Report on the setting up of Pan-African News Agency and decision on its headquarters. and also issues confronting the continent that include:
 - Political situation in Chad
 - The Middle East
 - OAU Defence force
 - economic and political strategy for Africa.

— Liberation of territories under the colonial rule.

The 16th OAU summit conference held in Monrovia, Liberia at the end of a 4day deliberation at times heated debate passed the following resolutions:

1. Eradication of colonialism and apartheid in South Africa.
2. Support for Frontline states
3. The setting up of Pan-African NEWS AGENCY for OAU Member states to be housed in Dakar.
4. The Western Sahara question was treated in accordance with a joint report submitted by the Ad Hoc. Committee. A cease fire was resolved to be followed by general referendum.
5. The strengthening of Afro-Arab economic cooperation.
6. The OAU's recognition of the patriotic front as the sole legitimate representative of Zimbabwe Rhodesia: of Africa heads of state that include NUMEIRI OF SUDAN, OBASANJO OF NIGERIA and ALBERT RENE OF SEYCHELLES STRONGLY CRITICIZED TANZANIA's armed invasion of Uganda.

Addressing the closing session William R. Tolbert President of Liberia and current chairman of the OAU declare, «We look forward and march onward for the Laurels of freedom and productivity, cooperation and unity. He emphasized the intensification of the support to the liberation movements and the front line states, «We are again called upon to honour those material and moral obligations which are vitally in

southern Africa to achieve their complete liberation from the oppressors and transgressor». Tolbert attached importance to the unity of the continent by saying «We cannot permit our quest for freedom to be impeded by fraternal hostilities». He appealed we should never permit internal incidents or external interferences to occasion infractions of the peace, and thus distract our attention and divert our actions from the noble course of total emancipations.

The liberian president pointed out that Africa inherits an enormous spectrum of challenges; there are racism and colonialism in all their abhorrent forms and the gravity of the economic plight of Africa. He urged integrity of economy and self-reliance in Africa, adding the assembly has taken the decision to convene an extraordinary assembly of heads of state and government in Lagos, Nigeria, within the ne-



xt few months on the subject of African economic development. «The peoples of developing countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America, their leaders should be represented rather than excluded from the frequent, closed doors discussion of world economic issues which so acutely affect their vital interests. By the people of Western Sahara, through a free referendum as well as reviewing of the OAU Charter.

The assembly announced that the 17th session of the

Heads of state and government of the OAU will be held in Freetown, Sierra Leone, in 1980.

It was worthy that during the 4day meeting of the summit, leaders of OAU member states dealt with many crucial and complex problems facing Africa, stressing the unity and solidarity of Africa, supporting the struggle of the people in Southern Africa and Palestine, establishing an African defence force, strengthening Afro Arab economic cooperation.

Press Conference on refugees

«The number of refugees cared for in 20 settlements dispersed in five regions of the SDR total 228.859 Persons comprising of women, children and men», this was disclosed at a press conference on 4th July by the coordinator for refugees Affairs Jaalle SAEED M. Gees.

The refugees displaced by the constant savagery and horrrassment subjected to them by the Abyssinian Regimes continuously cross the de-facto border and reach these settlements devoid of any property, which was either looted or destroyed by the Abyssinians.

said the coordinator.

Jaalle Gees, siad that the SDR having signed the refugees Declaration of 1951 and protocol of 67, accordingly, helped the refugees settle in camps and provided them with the necessary social amenities i.e. food, shelter, clothes, medicine, education etc. by making use of the experience gained from the drought which affected the country in 1974-75 and with the assistance of friendly countries, European Economic Community, USAID and UNHCR.

He pointed out that the

number of refugees, reaching the camps daily, and who require immediate assistance total about 500 persons.

The coordinator for refugee Affairs declared that the humanitarian assistance provided to the refugees by the Somali government and people is not sufficient to cater for the needs of the refugees and appealed to the international community to extend assistance to the refugees and help the Somali people and government solve this problems created by the Abyssinian colonialism.

CULTURE AND ART



The role of the Artist in a socialist society



The ideological consciousness of a society is always determined and conditioned by the economic relations that exist amongst its members. The group that possessed the means of production, that is, the land and its resources and the instruments of labour needed to work on it was able to impose its will upon the mass of the people and thereby appropriate the material wealth of the society necessary for sustaining human life. Because of this factor the dominant class has an absolute political, as well as economic power concentrated in its own hands. They were in a position to set forth and formulate the course of thought and opinion in their favour, in order to maintain and defend their class interest. The founders of Scientific Socialism, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, have stated that the sum total of

human history prior to the advent of Socialism was nothing else than the case of a given social class dominating another. Bourgeois theoreticians, on the contrary, denied this fundamental point and viewed human history as merely the doings of kings, nobles, churchmen etc. In their reasoning the popular masses, the majority of mankind, played no significant role in history, save that of spectators and on-lookers. This is an obvious distortion of the historical process of mankind, for, in reality, the people are the true makers of history, as well as the principal bearers of human culture and civilisation.

As a given social formation grew sterile and obsolete, it became an abstacle to the further progress of man. It therefore had to disintegrate and give way to a new and

more vigorous social system. The whole pattern of social ideology, of which art is one aspect, forms a superstructure built upon the economic basis, upon the strength of social production.

The social consciousness of the man of the primordial community for instance, did not go beyond simple forms, such as thinking of how to survive, how to win his daily food from Nature. He knew no art, no science, for he was then at the stage where man and the lower animals branched off from each other, following their diverse evolutionary processes. Primitive man, perhaps, wore a crude necklace made of the fangs or claws of the wild animals he killed for food, just to show off his manliness and courage in hunting. His wife, too, felt perhaps some feminine pride and dignity in her apparel of leopard skins or ostrich plumes. That was incidentally the beginning of man's aesthetic appreciation.

On the contrary, the capitalist class, who appropriate social wealth, devised power which to defend and maintain their dominant position. Their laws, philosophy and administrative institutions were all so framed as to safeguard the person and property of the ruling class. The benefit of the arts and sciences was reserved for the enjoyment of the capitalist class who not only exploited wor-

king people physically, but also sought to corrupt and dilute their thoughts and conscience in order to keep them in perpetual subjugation. The men of the arts, the poets, musicians, painters, singers and dancers, all with few exceptions found themselves loudly proclaiming the supposed virtues of the capitalist class. In their distorted works of art reactionary theoreticians depicted capitalism, as it is still being done even in our own age, as thought it was the most perfect, just human society on earth. The inhuman exploitation of man by man, the predatory global wars unleashed by monopoly capital, so as to swallow more and more foreign lands, the false values and ideals, the profit mania which blinded the conscience of men to all these evils and many more were glossed over and did not find expression in the commercialized artistic works produced by the apologists of capitalism. These artists were rewarded for their cheap flattery with mere crumbs thrown to them by the rich. That was the price for which the reactionary artist of the age sold his soul, the capitalist became an omnipotent deity for him.

The purposeful distortion of artistic truth by the bourgeoisie was an affront to the conscience of mankind, as well as a serious hinderance to the natural progress of the art of the world. For, as Aristotle noted nearly twenty three centuries ago, the nature of art is in the recognition of truth and the special way by which art discovers the truth is in the illustration of realistic human characters and actions.

It has been indicated ear-

lier that the possession of the means of social production was always the principal factor upon which the supremacy of a particular class over another was based. On that economic basis the ideologies of a given society, its laws, philosophy, jurisprudence, politics and so on were built as a superstructure. Therefore, the development of the arts and science of a given society was always commensurate to the strength of its economic potential or material wealth. The common ownership or socialization of that wealth and its fair and just distribution amongst all those citizens producing it at last puts an end to the age-old class antagonism and social contradictions which hitherto prevented the harmonious development of human society. With the advent of socialism genuine social equality amongst its citizens is finally achieved. A just distribution of social wealth could be assured by means of measuring how large or small is the contribution made by the individual citizens towards the creation of that common social wealth. From here developed the well known socialist principle which declared «give every citi-

zen according to his capacity». Practically all the violent social conflicts and contradictions, which ultimately destroyed all the non-socialist formations occurred, because class interests excluded the strict observance of this fundamental principle. If a man puts one spoonful of rice into the common bowl of social wealth he must not be allowed to take two spoonful out of it.

Socialism however does not only aim to create abundant material wealth for its citizens, but also seeks to promote their highest spiritual development. Men do not live on bread and butter alone. Under capitalism, as we have indicated earlier, the benefits of the arts and sciences were always reserved for the ruling class, the popular masses being kept in perpetual darkness. Socialism corrects such wrongs and dictates that, since everything of value, be it material or spiritual, is created by means of the labour of man, he should then reap the fruits of his own toil. This is a fundamental principle of Scientific Socialism.

In a class society differen-



ces in peoples' social activity and in the level of their political and cultural development give birth to a system of individual types with diverse views and opinions on life in general. The reactionary artist seeks refuge in narrow individualism to escape from the contradictions of the society of which he is a member and from reality. The representatives of the decadent or reactionary theory of art for a long time openly proclaimed the independence of art from society, asserting that artistic creativity is the preserve of a select few. «What business have I with the people?» asks the retrogressive artist; «I want to sing my song alone and loudly for myself. The artist should be alone, freedom, you see, means loneliness. «Every man should be a responsible citizen and do his duty towards his fellow citizen, society tells me. But I do not want to do this, I do not wish to subject myself to social obligations: I am an individual. Individualism is freedom» he reasons.

On the contrary, the moulding of the individual in a socialist society should take place as an all-round growth and maturing of the citizen's thoughts, feelings, aim and of men under socialism should be based upon the confirmation and strengthening of the socialist principles of equality, collectivism, internationalism, brotherhood of peoples, freedom and full responsibility of the individual before his fellow citizens. Here the qualitatively new and higher level of labour organization and ideological consciousness brings the toiling masses to an active participation in the reconstruction of social life. The role

of the individual in society thus assumes a socialist direction and is raised to a higher level of ideological consciousness. In a socialist community, where the benefits of the arts and sciences now belong to the working people who create them, the artist has no right to escape from the hard facts of life, from social obligation, as the apologists of decadentism sought to do. The significance of his role, therefore, is in his active participation in social work, in his profound faith and interest in the confirmation of socialist principles.

Any form of art that is divorced from the reality of human life cannot satisfy the spiritual quest of man. It is necessary, therefore, that art should reflect the eternal aspirations of man to reach new heights of cultural and scientific progress. When the artist has this desire within him, he believes in the great power of truth, then the pictures he paints and the books he writes about the life of his society will all be understandable to the common people, to his readers. In his artistic creations the progressive artist objectively illustrates the existing social relationships and mercilessly criticizes its shortcomings, the inequality, oppression and exploitation of man by man, which lowered his natural dignity. The artist is born in a society in which he is brought up and educated. As a citizen he shares in the cultural heritage of his society and therefore, has his spiritual roots deep in the cultural life of his people, in his country of birth. Whatever artistic talent the individual may have is the product of

of that native cultural background, which nurtured and formed the artist. Without that inexhaustible spiritual source of inspiration, there would have been no Shakespeare, no Dante Alighieri, no Ahmed Shawqi, no Rage Ugas and Mohamed Abdille Hassan the history of world literature. It is, therefore, illogical and a pure fantasy for the artist to identify himself and his artistic creations as an entity independent from the life of his people and their fortunes. The progressive artist, therefore, fights with his art against social evils and defends the interests of the toiling people. His art then becomes a powerful weapon for the reconstruction of society as a whole, an effective means of ideological instruction for the people. Should the artist fail to play such an honourable role in society, then his would be a voice in the wilderness, and the world today has little use for such an «artist».

It may be fitting to close this chapter on the role of the artist in a socialist society by quoting from an OAU publication, the Pan-african Cultural Manifesto (OAU General Secretariat, Press and Information Division, 1968, pp. 2 - 3 and 4):

«Colonialism is an evil that has been experienced and endured by all our people, first in its most distinctive form, the slave trade, which devastated almost all the African continent, and in its most tangible and insolent form, political domination, over which we must strive to triumph. In order to survive it has to justify itself morally and intellectually by force and coercion to extend its hold over

all fields of human activity. In order to exist as such, it must exercise in addition to its concrete and material hegemony, a social and intellectual hold, particularly over the ruling classes on which it relies». The Panafrican Cultural Manifesto goes on: «Culture starts with the people as creators of themselves and transformers of their environment. Culture, in its widest and most complete sense, enables men to give shape to their lives. We must

go back to the source of our values, not to confine ourselves to them, but rather to draw up a critical inventory in order to get rid of archaic and stultifying elements, the fallacious and alienating foreign elements brought in by colonialism, and to retain only those elements which are still valid, bringing them up to date and enriching them with the benefits of the scientific, technical and social revolutions so as to bring them into line with

what is modern and universal. The African man of culture, the artist, the intellectual in general must integrate himself into his people and shoulder the particularly decisive upon him. His action must inspire that radical transformation of the mind without which it is impossible for a people to overcome its economic and social underdevelopment. The people must be the first to benefit from their economic and cultural riches».

Continued from Page 14

must be bridged to create reds who are also experts and experts who are at the same time red. It is important to have Ministry of Health officials and cadres who understand, appreciate and also participate in the task of better facilitating the role of political and social organisations in promoting overall development and health development in particular.

A political cadre who simply talks about «mass mobilization» often falls into the pitfalls of opportunism, demagoguery and «afminsharism» (rumour mongering). He or she often fears for the loss of his job and this narrow concern may make him lose sight of the general good. His lack of technical or organisational ability quite often makes the masses turned off by his endless speeches and slogans. On the other hand, a «technician» who shuns the need to mobilize, educate and organise the people for their own self-improvement falls into the pitfall of «bureaucratism»: he or she becomes a narrow «techno-

crat» and cannot inspire the people to accept and implement whatever he is supposed to teach them. That is why we stress the need to develop personnel who are both politically aware and professionally competent. At the very least, professionally competent people, the experts, must realise, appreciate and facilitate the role and function of political and social organs in order to promote development. They must do their best to improve the functioning of all committees or units in which they jointly serve with the political cadres.

Let me add a few remarks with regards to the current stage of our political evolution: the stage of adopting a national constitution with a provision for a National Assembly. This organ and related bodies at the local levels could play a vital role in adopting health policies and in overseeing their administration and implementation. The National Assembly and related organs will most likely, look into health affairs budgets, foreign aid and

relations with regard to health matters public complaints about health and social matters etc. This new organ will complement the others mentioned above.

Thankyou very much for listening to these exploratory reflections.

1. Dr. A. S. Abbas, Health Implications of the Rural Development Campaign in Somalia, paper presented to the third Frantz Fanon Center International Conference, Mogadishu June 18th - 24th.

2. Ibid, P 3.

3. See, also in this connection, the paper by Mr. Omar Osman, «The Impact and Contribution of Literacy towards Rural Development in Somalia», paper presented to the Third Frantz Fanon Center International Conference.

4. Dr. A. S. Abbas, of. Cit; P.4

5. Ibid, P.5

6. Ibid, P.5

THEORETICAL ISSUES



Commercial capital and its role in under-development

In Geoffrey Kay's book, «Development and underdevelopment: A Marxist analysis», a whole chapter is devoted to a detailed study of the role that merchant capital (it could as well be called commercial or trading capital) plays in the process of development and underdevelopment. Obviously he associates commercial capital with underdevelopment and he is right since commercial capital holds normally in underdeveloped countries, and by and large contributes to the continuation of underdevelopment.

To recapitulate briefly on the history of commercial capital it only stands to reason to mention that it preceded all industrial capital, and appearing as it did well before the inception of capitalism as a system. Commercial capital, along with as Marx states is one of the most antiquated form of capital. The form of movement of commercial capital is M-C-M (M being money, and C standing for commodities while the last stands for money greater than the former m, in quantitative terms. The movement is a process of purchase for the sake of sale at a profit and accordingly M' ought to be bigger than M or the primary advanced capital.

Commercial capital in the developed countries now plays second fiddle to industrial productive capital, which since the advent of the capitalist system has occupied the pri-

mary role in the process of social reproduction. However in underdeveloped countries, particularly in a number of African countries commercial capital still has it conceded first place to industrial capital, and as such plays a fundamentally important role, which goes a long way to existence of a sizeable comprador bourgeois class, essentially parasitic in nature. A comprehensive analysis of commercial capital, its tendencies and dynamics of development, its relationship to industrial capital, both of internal, and the external expatriate capital will shed light on the difficult process of finding a way out of the oppressive underdevelopment to which our countries seem to be endlessly condemned.

Commercial or merchant's capital was introduced into the third world by the former colonising powers from Europe several centuries back. Thus today's alliance between expatriate and local commercial capital have long history of infamy to their credit. Initially expatriate commercial capital cornered the market in the colonised countries. Underdeveloped countries modern economy is traceable to the first advances of European merchant capital, which on the one hand built the world market, and thus constituted the modern history of capital. But on the other hand the intrusion of commercial capital and its creation of empire in

the East was successfully consolidated on the basis of pillage destruction of life, oppression and exploitation of peoples. In point of fact the roots of development and underdevelopment, and the grotesque and unjust division of labour today existing, were firmly laid down.

When we associate commercial capital with underdevelopment we proceed from our experiences of today but at the sametime we are armed with the theoretical substantiation of its inherent characteristics. Commercial capital does not normally revolutionise production but is designed to control markets, thereby centralising and concentrating capital into fewer and fewer hands. Commercial capital, like other forms of capital, and more so is weakened by competition vis-a-vis producers and consumers, and thereby monopoly gives it an advantage which otherwise it would not enjoy. In both the national and international areas commercial capital struggles against competition and seeks for monopolistic privileges.

To elaborate on the intrinsic nature of commercial capital it is relevant to point out that commercial capital is usually met, and its role is underlined in the process of circulation. In the general formula of capital: $M-C$ Labour Power process of production = New Commodity (C') = Means of production. M' (New

money), Commercial capital operates in between $C' - M'$. This is the process of realisation of surplus value, i.e. the process whereby the newly created commodities have to be sold in order to get the new money to restart the reproductive process. Of course the industrial capitalist can, if he deems fit, undertake the realisation of the new surplus value and profit embodied in the new products. But since this involves transportation and storage expenses, etc, he leaves to the commercial capitalist. But then since commercial capital is far from being the creator of surplus value, the role it plays in the direct imposition of the law of value, unlike industrial capital is pretty limited.

The attribute above illustrated defines further the mode of transition of commercial capital into industrial capital. In this transition commercial capital has both aspects of the universalistic attributes as well as its law of specificities. In Western Europe commercial capital on the basis of a long span of time, and due to the objectively determined and conscious development of the economic base commercial capital was ultimately transformed and reduced to a secondary role. In developed capitalistic economies, therefore, commercial capital is an aspect of industrial capital. Notwithstanding this commercial capital in the underdeveloped world, and corollarywise the class it gives rise to:

A. Is a foreign transplant since its roots are not the country but imposed from outside, that is in historical perspective. Even now that we are supposedly independent the comprador bourgeoisie

who happens to be the major commercial class is by thousands of threads linked to expatriate capital, and subsists on the handouts which on and off is thrown to it. This comprador bourgeoisie, unlike the national bourgeoisie which subsists on the industrial capital locally available, is singularly incapable of taking an independent stand. Lack of independence objectively reflects lack of independence of local commercial capital from the international market.

B. In the underdeveloped world commercial capital exists as the sole, or as the sole capital whereas in the developed world it exists as an aspect of industrial capital, as already noted in our analysis. Accordingly commercial capital, a form of capital dominating in pre-capitalist modes of production is allowed to give a new lease of life to the extend precapitalist modes, which in development terms ought to be as rapidly cast over board as conditions would allow commercial capital which in the West is forced to behave in a sophisticated and civilised manner can in the underdeveloped world retain its well known ugly faces. Inasmuch as commercial capital has accepted a secondary role in the developed world, it can not in the intra-relationship between the developed and underdeveloped world aspire to more than a very dependent position.

One of the ways in which commercial capital contributes to the aggravation of underdevelopment is its act as an agent of industrial expatriate capital. Historically I - commercial capital's historical role in I establishment of I modern economy.

Vast accumulation of wealth

in I form of capital (it drew I world together by increasing productive powers, while at I sametime splitting it through grotesque of division of labour leading to oppression and exploitation).

Merchants role is not revolutionary production but control markets - centralising and concentrating capital - competition weakens merchants vis-a-vis I producers and consumers thus monopoly vs its advantage - locally internationally - no laissez faire but monopolistic privileges.

i) Operation in I process of circulation and could not impose I law of value directly

2. Transition to industrial capitalism-generalities and specificities of monopoly capital.

i. Foreign transplant.

ii. In 3rd World as sole capital but in others as aspect of industrial Capital. Monopoly Capital left independently but reduced to a role of agent.

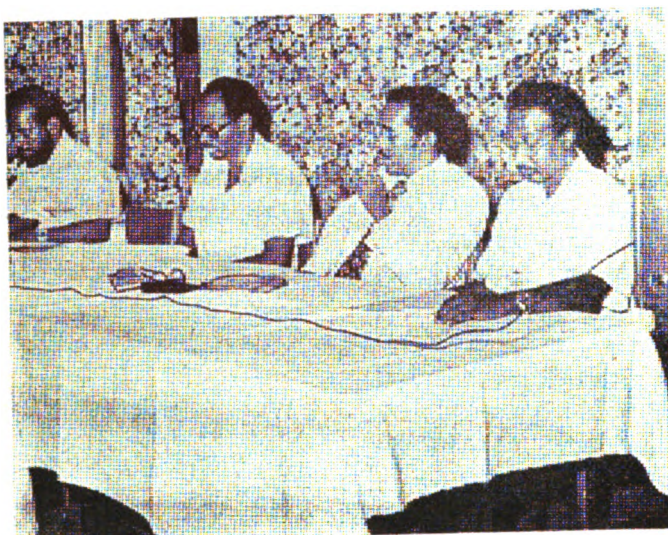
K. Marx - quote P. 100 depression of I soc advance of production since it is agent of expatriate capital - comprador role capital concerned with quantitative aspects of commoditative but industrial capital has to concern itself with I qualitative aspect as it is I mainspring of material production i.e. as use values. P. 101 - more civilised. Rate of profit not to fall takes the form of commercial capital i) Indispensable source of means of production ii) rate of profit, iii) vast potential market.

Dependence relationship - does not grasp I problem underdevelopment - cost law of value is turned away.

BOOKS AND DOCUMENTS



OPENING ADDRESS TO THE FANON RESEARCH CENTER BY MOHAMED ADEN SHEIKH THE CHAIRMAN OF THE IDEOLOGY BUREAU OF C.C. OF THE SRSP



Dear Comrades, Dear Participants, Guests & Friends,

It is my duty and pleasure to welcome you to Somalia. Most of you have come from very far and we feel honoured that you have overcome all obstacles in order to travel all the way to Mogadishu to hold this Conference. Permit me to convey to you the greetings of our Party, Government and people and, in particular the special greetings of our President, Jaalle Mohamed Siyad Barre.

The Conference has generated a great deal of interest and enthusiasm among our people and we believe you will see evidence of this during your brief stay with us.

Let me pay special tribute to the Frantz Fanon Research And Development Center and other interested parties who have contributed, in one way or another, to the sponsorship

and organization of this Conference and to the Director of the Center, Dr. Lewis King and his staff for the efforts they have undertaken to convene such a unique gathering.

The name of Frantz Fanon is cherished because he symbolizes an intellectual who linked his own struggle for self-liberation with the struggle for a people's liberation, the struggle for the liberation of Africa and the rest of the world from the shackles of colonialism and neo-colonialism. Fanon lived and died as an activist intellectual who dedicated himself to promoting social change and human development.

We are highly flattered by our interest to observe and study the efforts we have undertaken during the past ten years to promote social change in our society.

Development in human so-

ciety is a many-sided process. In these brief reflections, I do not wish to enter into a theoretical or philosophical discourse on the broad subject of human development. All I wish to do is to highlight certain aspects of the Somali experience in promoting Social change and development.

Our experience, and indeed that of others, has confirmed a number of the observations made by the late Dr. Frantz Fanon as early as 1960. It has taught us that, for example the achievement of any of those aspects of personal or individual development is very much tied in with the State of the society as a whole. Everywhere you visit in our country you will find some evidence of the stress placed on the dialectical connection between the development of the individual and that of the community. Our experience has also taught us that there is an indisputable link between socio-economic change and political development. We have also learned, as Fanon emphasised, that mass spontaneity is not enough in order to promote human development, a people must plan, organise and channel their efforts and at the same time constantly raise their political consciousness.

During the turn of the century, imperialism brutally divided and colonized our people, it also encouraged and assisted the feudal Abyssinian

kingdom to expand and colonize a part of our people as well as other peoples of the Horn of Africa in order to create the Ethiopian Empire. For decades now, the history of our people like that of millions of other peoples all over the world, has been a history of struggle for liberation and unification. This struggle has taught us to up-hold and cherish the principle of self-determination which provides a sound basis for reconciliation, peace and development, especially in our region. In our struggles for liberation we learned to create national political parties.

These parties channelled the spontaneous efforts of our people towards one goal/independence. The part of Somalia colonized by the British in the North and the part colonized by the Italians in the South both attained independence and unification on July 1st 1960.

In the *Wretched of the Earth*, Fanon gives a brilliant analysis of the strengths and weaknesses of the African nationalist movement. Though we had, like in other parts of colonized Africa, learned to form political parties bent on gaining freedom, our parties had not yet developed ideologically and organizationally to be able to cope up with the situation of neo-colonialism which followed formal independence.

Somalia experienced the worst aspects of neo-colonialism during the years 1960-1969. Neo-colonialism implies the continuation of the political economy of colonialism, that is, the situation of non-industrial exploitation, the perpetuation of under-development. It implies urbanisation without creating the



means to cope with the problems of unemployment and their social consequences.

For us the years 1960-1969 represented the neo-colonial era, during which the economy flundered and therefore, the politics reflected confusion and tribalism or rather clannism, social relations were corrupted and our cultural heritage was allowed to disintegrate. This is evidenced by the fact that our national language remained unwritten, neglected and condemned to gradual extinction. Over 80 political Parties competed for 120 seats in the corrupt elections of those days-those so called parties represented nothing but petty selfish interests.

The Revolution of October 21st, 1969 was motivated by the need to struggle against neo-colonialism. This struggle for social change and development reflects a many-sided process. The First Charter of the Revolution, dated October 21, 1969, declared as its objective that of constituting a society based on work, social justice and equality. As Jaalle Siyad, the Secretary General of our Party Democratic Republic said, «We have chosen Scientific Socialism, because it is the only way for the rapid transformation of

the country into a developed and economically advanced nation».

Our revolutionary Government began to adopt policies designed to ensure that planned economic growth makes a full and wise use of human resources, respects human values and maximises human satisfaction. Measures have been taken to create and expand free health services to our people. Significant steps have been taken to promote women equality, in education, employment and matters pertaining to marriage and family life.

The Crash Agricultural Programmes, the Rural Development campaign involving mass literacy and health campaigns and the Settlement Programme of drought-stricken nomads in agricultural and fishing communities are vivid examples of our firm policy to enhance manpower development, and promote the material and social welfare of our people. The writing of our language since October 21st, 1972, gave us the necessary weapon to wage war against illiteracy and ignorance, it also provided us with a basis to promote grassroots political participation of our people in the decision making process. The writing of our language is an invincible

tool against cultural alienation so vividly described in the books of Fanon.

You will have, I hope the opportunity to witness these programmes during your brief stay with us. You will also be reading and analysing papers on these topics by Somali presenters. What I wish to emphasise to you is the fact that these crash programmes, literacy campaigns and resettlement communities would not have been achieved without the ideological and organisational changes promoted by the Revolution under the leadership of Jaalle Siyad.

Indeed, as soon as the birth of our 1969 Revolution; a Public Relations Office was created and given the task of systematically organising our people and raising their political consciousness. By 1972, the PRO was transformed into the Political Office of the Supreme Revolutionary Council. The Political Office established a network of Orientation Centers in residential areas all over the country. It also carried out its tasks of political organisation and education at work-places, in administrative offices, educational institutions, factories, farms and co-operatives. It published books, pamphlets and magazines in the Somali language. In 1975, it opened a Political Institute at Halane for the national training of cadres. The Political Office came to possess an embryonic political party structure.

This structure played a crucial role in organising and promoting the agricultural Crash Programmes, the Sand-Dune Project, the Rural Development Campaign, the Nomadic settlement Programme as well as the numerous self-help and self-reliance oriented projects. In this way, hundreds

of schools, hospitals, roads, offices, irrigation canals etc. have been constructed through the organised, voluntary labour of our people.

Thus a revolutionary political institution was created in order that, in the words of Frantz Fanon, «the people must know where they are going, and why, the future remains a closed book so long as the consciousness of the people remain imperfect elementary, cloudy».

Mass participation in such development projects resulted in a dialectical interaction between socio-economic activities on the one hand; and the development of political consciousness and organizational effectiveness on the other hand.

Legislation was enacted to provide for worker's participation in the management process. Within Orientation Centers, committees for Youth, Women and Workers were established in order to involve them in day-to-day issues affecting the lives of the people. The writing of our national language and its adoption as the official medium of communication profoundly enhanced this aspect of political development, namely the process of mass participation in

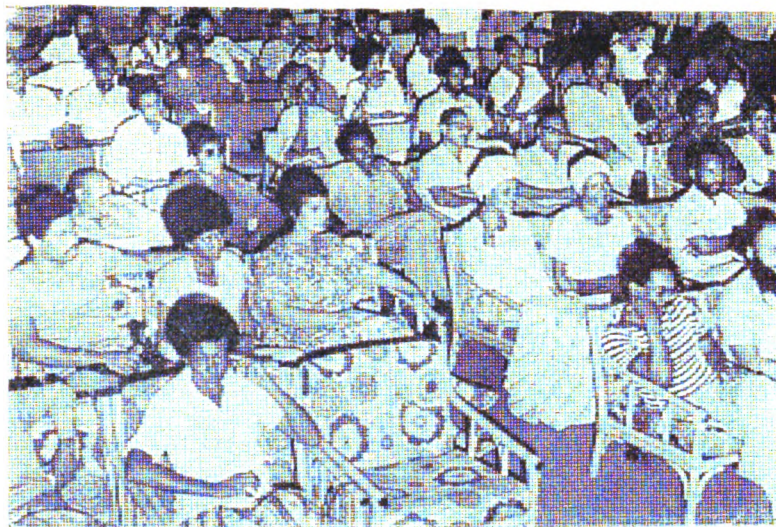
the decision-making process.

By July 1st 1976, this dialectical process of interactions resulted on the formation of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party (SRSP). At this point let me once again recall the words of Frantz Fanon: «A country that really wishes to answer the questions that history puts to it, that wants to develop not only its towns but also the brains of its inhabitants, such a country must possess a trust worthy political party».

Our Party is further linked to our people through the mass organisation for the youth, for the Women and for the Workers. These political and social institutions permit us not only to wage unprecedented campaigns, they also permit us to sustain such efforts in a planned and systematic way over a period of time. For example, they are all involved in the follow-up programme to the mass literacy campaign, they were involved in the successful campaign that eradicated small-pox from our country, in the campaign to promote food self-sufficiency, better hygiene and other aspects of preventive medicine.

The Somali Co-operative Movement is also involved in the effort to promote develop-





ment by raising production and consciousness simultaneously.

Nevertheless, let us face it: what we are dealing with, is a historical process. The consciousness of our people is not a tabula rasa, we have inherited various defects and shortcomings from our colonial past our rural traditions and so forth. The individualism and alienation of colonialism analysed by Fanon continues to permeate certain sectors of our society. Social change and human development is, in the final analysis, an evolutionary process.

Obviously, the objective factors, our natural resources and level of technology for example, are not conducive to rapid social transformation. We are also obliged to constantly engage in a dual task of building new institutions while combatting inherited neo-colonial attitudes and mentalities. In promoting our national language, for instance, our efforts are absorbed in several directions at the same time,

a) In spreading literacy among the people;

b) In developing the vocabulary of the language itself while simultaneously establishing for the first time, institutions of higher education;

c) Combatting the neo-colonial attitudes and habits. Periodically, we have also to combat the effects of serious unexpected droughts like the one that afflicted our people in 1974 causing us to divert from the objectives of the 1974-78 Plan. These are serious obstacles, they sometimes result in frustrations and tensions.

Our historic experience has taught us to cherish self-determination and independence as the basis for promoting social change and human development. It is also the basis for promoting national reconciliation and international co-operation. As a consequence we strongly support the struggle of others for their basic human rights, including the right to self-determination. That is why we supported and pledge to redouble our efforts to support the legitimate struggle of the national liberation movements waging a bitter war against racist oppression and colonialism, in South Africa, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Eritrea and Western Somalia. We also condemn obnoxious Zionist practices against the Palestinians, and the other Arab people in the occupied territories. As a result of our principled stand on supporting national liberation movements

we often find ourselves endangered by foreign interventions.

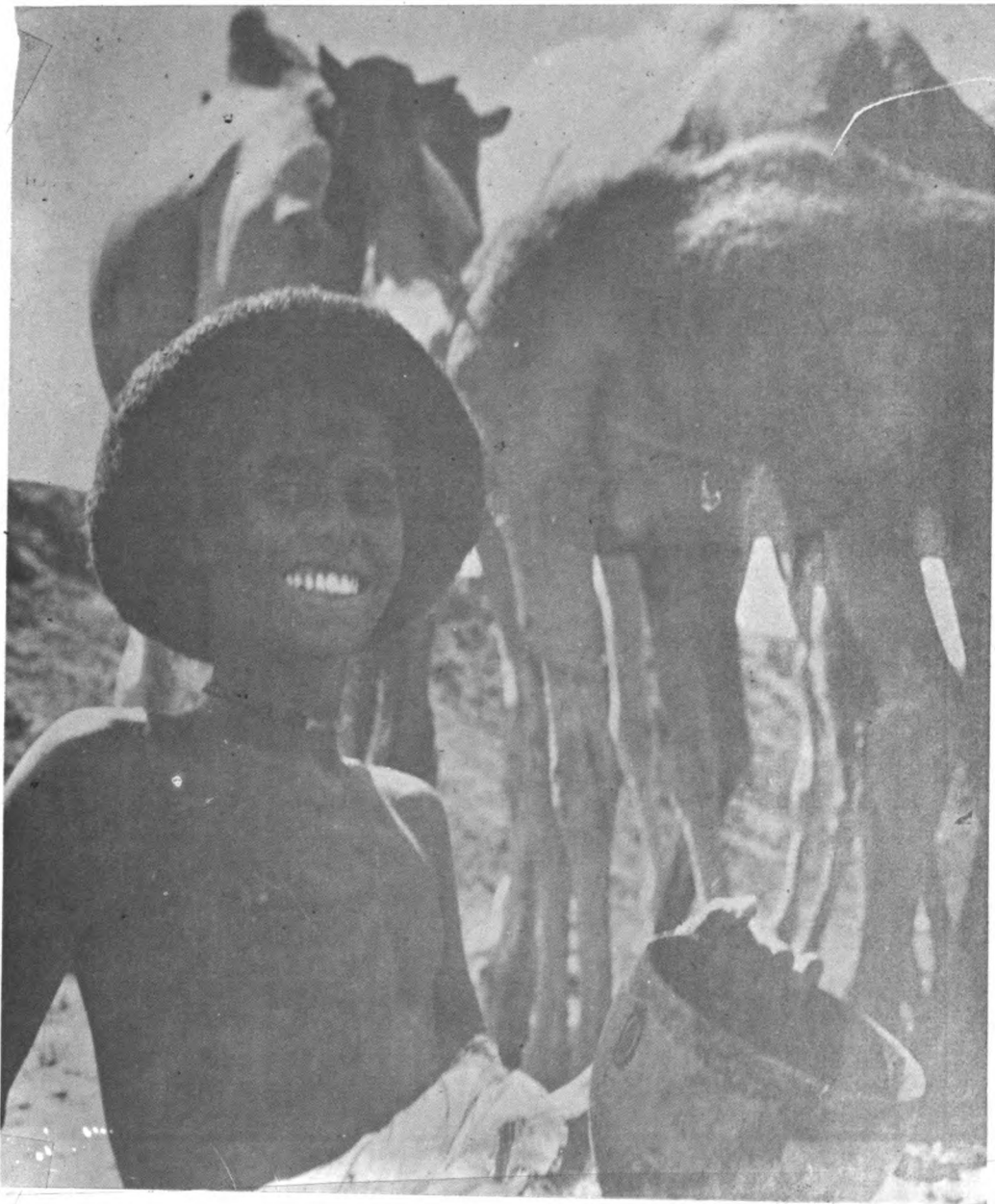
We also pledge to redouble our efforts to sustain and enhance peaceful social change and the process of increased mass participation I have described above. This is the Tenth Year of our Revolution. It is time for serious reflections, a time for taking stock of our cumulative experience during these hectic and challenging years. It is also time for further innovative actions aimed at promoting our political development. This is the year in which our people will discuss and hold a referendum in order to adopt a Constitution. The proposed Constitution guarantees and ensures a more institutionalised framework for promoting these social changes in our country. The Constitution provides for an elected National Assembly advancing the democratic participation of our people in state affairs at the highest level.

You will hear about these and other issues during your stay here. You will have time to exchange views and perspectives on these and several other important issues reflected in your conference Agenda.

Objective conditions do not permit us to offer you the best Conference facilities for holding such a demanding International Conference. I am sure you will suffer inconveniences and even discomforts. I hope and trust that you will consider these as secondary to your major goal and objectives. We on our part will do our best to assist you in accomplishing your task.

Permit me to declare «open» the Third International Fanon Center Conference and to wish all the participants a pleasant and productive experience in our country.

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THE JOY AND THE SELF CONFIDENCE OF THE SOMALI CAMEL HERDER



THE SONG OF THE ARTIST ON THE BANK OF THE RIVER.

HAILGAN!



(THE STRUGGLE)

**ORGAN OF THE SOMALI
REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST PARTY**

* **REFLECTIONS ON THE
CONSTITUTION OF THE S.D.R.**

- * **National Workshop on Rural
Development**
- * **Notes on Somali Culture**
- * **The New National Constitution**

Struggle to
learn, in order to
learn to
struggle better

HAILGAIN

published monthly by the
CENTRAL COMMITTEE
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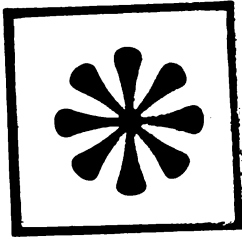
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EDITORIAL



The New National Constitution of SDR

The new constitution has passed through various stages and the preparatory committee have come across many problems. The formation of a constitution among other things include in the first, second and third Charter of the Revolution.

The resolutions on the founding congress of the SRSP on 1st July 1976 emphasised the formation of constitution with in a short period.

In consideration to the forementioned decision a committee consisting of 16 persons was appointed on Presidential degree on 20th Oct. 1977. Also the CC of the SRSP decided that the constitution should be prepared within one year.

The Secretary — General of the SRSP, President of the SDR, Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre, reshuffled the committee on 26th Nov. and minimized to eight persons. This committee was officially appointed to prepare a new constitution up to January 1979.

It is imperative therefore, to ask ourselves, what is the difference between the new constitution and the previous one that has been abolished by the revolution immediatly after its birth on 21st Oct. 1969?

The previous constitution was capitalist oriented and was prepared mainly by foreign experts, who despite their meagre information could not cope with the problems exactly envisaging the Somali people particularly and their solution. But the new constitution is based on the welfare and betterment of the Somali people that has been declared in the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd charters and at the same time the Party laws, programme and constitution.

The difference between the new constitution and the one that existed prior to the revolution is vast and each was engendered by certain conditions. The previous constitution was initiated immediately after independence, it was foreign prepared and capitalist oriented and could not therefore cope with the concrete reality of the life of the Somali people. On the other hand, the new constitution was prepared after 9 years of Revolutionary administration and in consideration to the peculiarities and circumstances the society is experiencing. It is also prepared by Somali experts.

This constitution coincided with the socialist construction of the Somali people and their diligence to enhance the society's unity, cooperation and self confidence.

To carry the constitution to the remote areas and to every individual, seminars were held to discuss the constitution and the referendum having headquarters in the police academy.

These seminars were offered to :-

- Secretaries of the Regions and districts.
- Governments directors and Party representatives.
- Somali composers and
- Intellectuals.

Besides these seminars, the mass media — the Radio and News-papers were fully and consistently engaged in propagating the constitution and plebiscite. Seminars were set up in all regions and districts.

Lastly, after a long process of preparation the plebiscite occurred on 25th August 1979.

The Somali people who possessed a highly political consciousness and having understood the importance of a new constitution, portrayed their patriotism in accepting unanimously the new constitution. The number of people who voted yes were 3,574,139 out of total voters of 3,587,179 while the people who voted against were 7,852 persons. In this case it is easily understandable that the number of people who voted no are less than 1%.

The acceptance of the new constitution will further facilitate the diligence of the Somali people to achieve rapid development.

Political, Economic and Social Affairs



National workshop on Rural Development



The National Workshop on Rural Development commenced in one of the Conference rooms in the Peoples Hall on 22nd Sept. 1979. The Workshop was sponsored by the National Planning Commission and the UN. The Workshop was participated by representatives from all ministries and National Agencies, who in part or in whole are involved in the rural development. Also, there were representatives from the International Agencies. These agencies include WHO, FAO UNIDO etc.

The workshop was officially inaugurated by the Minister of Local Governments and Rural Development, Jaalie Jama Mohamed Galib. The Minister delivered a speech on the occasion and pointed out the essence of this workshop which was the first of its type. The Minister emphasised that the need for rapid

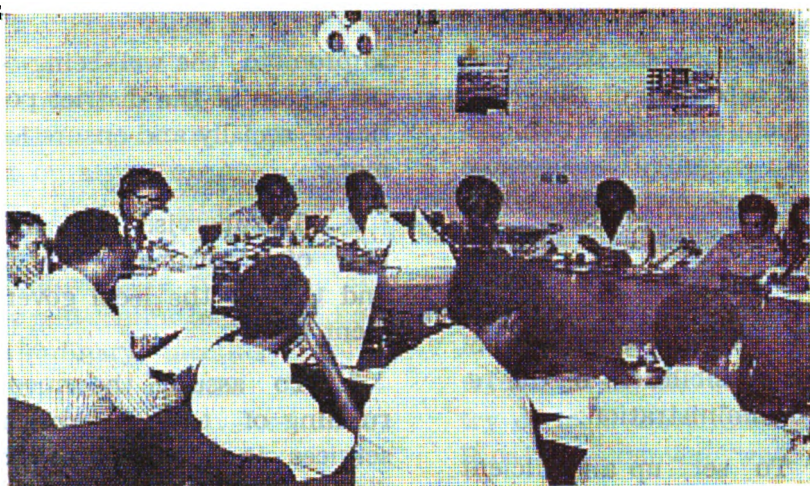
rural development and the integration of rural economy depends on the study of the problems and prospects of the rural economy. The UNDP resident representative Mr. OLAV SVENNEVIK also delivered a speech on the opening session. He emphasised the need for an integrated economy and the imperative need for the establishment of a coordinating - body. The UNDP resident concluded that the UN agencies will not spare their efforts in taking part in the integration of rural economy.

The plenary meeting usually started at the plenary hall and after presenting each paper, comments, questions and discussions followed. After the plenary meeting, the conference was broken into discussion groups, the members of each group discussed the questions and comments and drew their conclusions accordingly.

The agenda has included papers and discussion sessions covering virtually all the relevant aspects of rural programme in our country.

According to the programme each ministry and its affiliating agencies was supposed to have a complete day so that the chairman for that day was either the Minister or the Director General of the Said Ministry. Almost all Government, Ministries and Agencies participated in the workshop each discussing the problems and prospects of an integrated rural economy, their function and plan for new ways of improving the rural economy. The participants and observers were not confined to the Ministries and Agencies but also there were observers from the Agricultural and Fishery settlements and from the potential beneficiaries. The representatives presented amalgamation of the activities of the Said Ministries and Agencies. A day before the conclusion of the national workshop a draft committee was appointed to prepare a draft outline on the Rural Development Strategy for Somalia 1980 - 1989. The main points to be discussed under this topic include;

1. Somalia's experience in Rural Development.
2. Government of Somalia's Rural Development Objectives



3. Barriers to more Rapid Rural Development in Somalia.

The draft committee presented its outline on the 29th Sept. before the conclusion. Meanwhile the concluding addresses began. The first address was delivered by the Chairman of the meeting. The UNDP resident representative also delivered a speech on the closing session. The UNDP representative between the Somali Govt. And the UN Agencies participating in the Task Force on Rural Development have great hope and expectation that the deliberations of the workshop would yield long term programmes and strategy for integrated rural development which would benefit immensely the vast masses of the low-income rural population. He further continued his speech stressing the need for better coordination and in-

tegration of government ministries and agencies so that a basic change may be insured. stressing on the role of the UN he mentioned that this is the beginning of their interest and that a new era of cooperation between Somali government and UN has commenced on proposals specially designed to alleviate rural poverty.



Lastly the Minister for Local Gov't and rural Development Jaalle Jama Mohamed Galib who was present throughout the proceedings of the National Workshop delivered the concluding speech.

The Minister laid emphasis on the Development of the guidelines by further research and writing, taking into full account all the documents and proceedings of the National Workshop so as to constitute a strategy paper for integrated Rural Development in Somalia.

The Minister continued to say that this workshop will analyse the party experience in order to draw useful lessons for future action. The Minister concluded to extend his thanks to all people who represented their respective Agencies.



Perspective on effective Rural Development

Introduction Rural development Administration.

1. The Revolutionary Government has taken necessary measures to formulate policy for rural development which is basic to national develop-

ment, since 70 — 80% of the Somali population are rural and nomadic.

2. To facilitate administration the Somali Democratic Republic is divided into Regions, Districts and Villages. The

political administration and social economy of the Regions. Districts and Villages come under the responsibility of the Local Government bodies referred to as Regional, District and Village committees or councils which function on

behalf of the general administration of the Somali Democratic Republic, and cover the whole country.

3. In every region and district council with a party committee which comprises of public representatives and the heads of Government offices. They are all members of the party. The same guiding principle applies in every village committee where we find members of the party and social committees. Most of them are selected from among the local residents.

4. Likewise, the administrative committees of heads of Government offices are also classified according to Regional, District and Village levels.

5. In order to unify the duties of the party and the administration, and to avoid contradiction that might hinder the smooth running of the national service, an executive office is established in every region and district. This is the highest authority in the region or district that combines the duty of the party and the administration. It is composed of 3 members and they are responsible for the following :-

1. Implementation of policy of regional or district council and the administration of the region or the district.

2. Fulfilment of party responsibility and the administrative functions as laid down in the law and programme of the party. The law No. 21 of 3/2/1977, pertaining to regional and district administration.

The village committees are established by resolution of the regional administrative commi-

tee, and they are responsible for the execution of village development schemes. Committees are required to promote economic development, social wellbeing, and assist administration.

The following are some of the responsibilities of the regional administration:-

1. To set up an efficient system and prepare plans to execute the national policy.

2. Implementation of plans effectively so as to improve the life of the people in the regions and districts.

3. Execution of the normal administrative functions of Ministries and corporations of the Central Government, at the Regional level.

4. Inspection and supervision of the services of district administrative committees.

5. Transmission of problems that are beyond the capability of the regional and district committees to the central Headquarters of the Government.

6. For these reasons, all the heads of various branches (departments) of ministries and their representatives in the regions or the districts administrative committees.

The district administrative committee has similar responsibilities as those of the regional administrative committees as illustrated above.

7. The regional or district administrative committee is also vested with authority to such as:

1. To make laws (rules) or abolish existing local ones, provisions of the national laws. These rules are intended

to promote the well-being of the region or the district politically, socially and ensure harmony.

2. To supervise the collection of Government revenue and that of the local government body.

3. To assure the smooth running of the government services in the region or the district and to solve any problems and conflicts that may arise.

4. To prepare and submit the budget of the local Government body to the regional party committee in accordance with the financial rules and regulations.

5. To render any advice to the central government if so required in the general interest of the public.

6. Also, the regional or district administrative committee has sub-committees comprising the heads of various branches of government offices, which are responsible for the following :-

1. The Sub-Committee for the economy and the co-operatives;

Which is responsible for the general development of the economy, executing projects included in the national development plan, co-ordination and encouragement of self-help schemes, promotion of increase of agricultural output, establishment of co-operatives and animal husbandary.

2. The sub-committee for social affairs;

Which is responsible for public health and sanitation, education, justice, sports, relaxation, literature, etc.

9. The regional administrative committee is required to consult the district administrative committee before they act on any resolutions concerning district affairs. It is a requirement that the regional administrative committee and the sub-committee should hold an ordinary meeting once in every three months. The district administrative committee is required to have its ordinary meeting once in every 15 days. The objectives of these meetings are mainly to check and review what has been achieved, and what has not yet been accomplished and the causes for it, and also for general consideration of matters of interest to the people.

The local government bodies are up to now confined to providing the public with the following services :-

1. Supplying documents such as identity cards and commercial licences.

2. Sanitation, planting and decoration of towns and villages.

3. Accomplishing minor projects within their financial capability and equipment available.

4. Accomplishing the consolidation of rural development campaign.

5. Commercial services, such as supplying of food, sale of construction materials, clothes and footwear.

10. However, in the long-term, the local government bodies are expected to attain required standards, where they can fully take charge of the responsibilities and services now provided by ministries and corporations of the central government in the regions and

districts with the exception of some projects and other services which may have to be operated directly by the central government in many regions and districts. This is the major objectives of the local government in the future.

11. The regional administration comes under the ministry of local Governments and Rural Development, which has power to inspect, co-ordinate and to take care of the functions relating to the administration. But every region or district has the power to deal direct with government corporations for their services. Every region is required to send a general report to the ministries pertaining to their work once every three months. Therefore, every region or district or village has the freedom of action on its local administration politically, economically and socially, but this should coincide with and conform to the general policy and plans of the State.

12. As regards the rural literacy campaign (a nationwide rural development undertaking,

there is a national committee consisting of the following government ministries and central government bodies :-

1. Ministry of local Government and Rural Development Chairman

2. Ministry of Education Secretariat

3. Ministry of Health Member

4. Ministry of Agriculture Member

5. Ministry of Live stock, Forestry and Range

Member

6. Ministry of Fishery Member

7. Ministry of Information and National Guidance Member

8. State Planning Commission member

13. The responsibility of the National Planning Committee

1. Defining the policy and the general plan for the consolidation of rural campaign (JOHRM).

2. Assuring the accomplishment of the policy plan of the consolidation of rural development campaign.

The National Planning Committee is assisted by a technical committee comprising officers from the ministries mentioned above. The technical committee for the consolidation of rural development campaign has to deal with the following :-

1. They should be aware of the resolutions of the national planning committee (JOHRM).

2. Inspecting the regions, districts and villages where the programme (JOHRM) is functioning.

3. Preparing the reports relating to the inspections pointing out the difficulties hindering the accomplishment (success) of the programme (JOHRM).

4. Organizing and administering training seminars for the heads of rural societies.

5. Studying and evaluating the outcome of the programme (JOHRM).

6. Preparing the statistics relating to the programme (JOHRM).

14. The Headquarter of the technical committee (JOHRM) is in the premises of the Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development. Likewise, there are committees for (JOHRM) consisting of representatives from the Ministries represented within the National Committee of JOHRM in every region and district. Every committee has a Secretariat headed by the representative of the Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development. In the region, the secretary of the committee is the coordination of the Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development, whereas the administrator of local government is the secretary of the committee in the district. In the village there are numerous committees responsible for the accomplishment of the programme (JOHRM). These committees include the heads of the rural society (village headmen and tribal chiefs), members of the party, social committees, the functionaries of health and animal husbandry, and the teachers of the Ministry of Education. The heads of the rural society which include tribal chiefs, village headmen, are given orientation seminars in Ceel Jaalle (near Merca). Thereupon, they are given a wide variety of lessons concerning the objectives and the significance of the programme (JOHRM) after which they comprise the mechanism for the village services under the campaign.

16. The Objectives of the Programme (JOHRM)

1. To improve the basic

needs of the community like, health, education, water, food and communication.

2. To improve the agricultural output, animal husbandry and fishery.

3. To encourage minor technical skilled occupations that could be used for commercial purposes, if needed.

5. Accomplishing minor projects relating to the development of the rural society by adopting the principle of self-help.

6. To improve the standard of political consciousness of the rural society.

17. A copy of the schedule of the services to serve as a guideline for the regions, districts and the villages is attached. Resolutions of the committees of the programme (JOHRM) are brought before the regional, district and village administrative committees for approval.

After that, a copy of their resolutions is sent to the Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development for information and consultation, if necessary.

18. The difficulties that hinder or damage the smooth running of the programme are as follows:

1. The lack of cadres experienced in the preparation and accomplishment of the programme (JOHRM) in the country.

2. The scarcity of economic means is a barrier to the accomplishment of minor projects that might encourage employment generation of economic resources and useful technical training.

3. The diffusion of the administrative services relating to the programme (JOHRM).

4. The different definitions given to the rural and urban services.

5. The frequent movement of rural societies.

19. It is believed the programme would succeed if solutions of the above mentioned difficulties are found.

DEVELOPMENT PERSPECTIVES

There is no doubt that the rural society of the Somali Democratic Republic has achieved some clear development goals in the field of economic policy and social affairs under the leadership of 21st October Revolution. This is witnessed by the level of general knowledge, political attitude and the economic development which the nation has reached during the period mentioned.

Economic development in the regions, districts and villages executed on :

1. Local Government budget.

2. Self help scheme funds.

3. Central Government grants.

Though the central government executes projects in the Regions and Districts under its development plans, yet the Agencies responsible for implementing the projects are directly in touch with the interests and needs of the rural society which also has funds received from the local government budget and self-help funds collected from the people.

Each year, the District Administrative Committee prepares the proposals for the budget and the District Council or Committee of the district estimates the following year's draft budget in concise form so as to balance its income and expenditure. This estimate is submitted to the District Council for, following the acceptance by the Party Committee in the Region, it is transmitted for the consideration of the Regional administrative Committee and the Party Committee. The budget after acceptance by the administrative Committees and the Party and after approval by the Regional Council is transmitted to the Ministry of Finance, through the Ministry of Local Governments and Rural Development. It should be noted that an attempt is made in the budget to meet peoples requirements using all the resources available.

Finally, the budget of the Local Government is accepted by the Central Committee of the Party, as forming a part of general budget of the nation. The estimated income of the Local Government budget is obtained from the following sources:

1. Tax on utilities.
2. Income Tax.
3. Substantive income and services.

Only a small income is obtained from the Local Government's own body properties. $\frac{1}{4}$ or $\frac{3}{4}$ of the Local Government's income in the districts is obtained from tax on revenue animals, markets and houses etc. Though each district's income is dependent to the number of economic sources

established in the district.

The estimated expenditure of the Local Government budget in the districts is generally divided into a) Regular expenditure and b) development expenditure.

Regular expenditure includes the following.

1. Payments and Salaries
2. Maintenance.
3. Services and Materials.
4. Minor expenses.

Most of the income of the Local Government bodies in the districts is spent on regular expenditure. The reason is that on the District's present Services to the People where no income is obtained, such services being — lighting, sanitation, maintenance of peace political activities, and Social amenities, etc. under development expenditure it is the duty of the District to execute local development projects of primary importance every year.

Though the central government assists the districts which are unable to incur the expenditure by presenting additional funds to implement its projects. The establishment and change in the source of income of the Local Government bodies is dependent on to the powers of the District administrative Committee to constitute Local Laws and rules consonant with the District's economic situation.

The administrative laws of the regions and districts allow Local Government bodies to retain additional (surplus) at the end of the year. This should be placed as a deposit in order to finance new projects

in the following year to avoid the freezing of funds at the end of the financial years.

The estimate of the regional headquarters is composed of income and expenditure prepared by the regional administrative committee which is then submitted to the regional party committee. Their income is drawn from transfer of money by the districts from their extra surplus funds and also from Central Government grants. Their expenditure is mostly on regular items of expenditure but they spend also on projects assigned to them for execution at regional level.

For local Government bodies of the districts that can not afford to incur expenses to meet needs of the district community, it was arranged that each social unit should execute its own projects on self help basis in order to fulfil their needs. In fact, it is not found difficult to get villages to take action to establish Kuranic Schools, veterinary Centres, water sheds and reservoir, etc. Thus, in order to evaluate the position of self help projects in the economic development of the country which the same time to make sure of balanced development in regions, districts and villages. The National Plan of 1979 — 1981 provides for projects financed from the following sources :-

1. Local Government estimates.
2. Central Government Aid
3. Self help funds.

Before incorporating in the National Plan, initially the national planning Committee

had prepared a regional plan based on studies made on the needs of the peoples in the regions, districts and villages, balance also into account economic resources that can be mobilized.

In view of the plan preparation procedures which ensures necessary measures are taken to develop rural society — there is confidence that targets will be reached and prospects for future development might bring changes and improvement in the life of the people as in the developed world.

Annexure «A» shows a schedule of the projects implemented in the regions, districts and villages from 1976 to 1979, with the exception of those executed on self help schemes.

Other small projects that will be executed in the regions districts and villages in 1979-1981 are shown in Annexure «B».

The difficulties faced by the Local Government bodies for economic development of the Society which are under their responsibility are as follows :

1. Their economic resources related to taxes are highly limited.

2. The shortage of working materials and production materials.

3. The control and supervision on regular expenditure for the District is a responsibility on central Government Services.

4. Scarcity of experienced cadre in the affairs of administrative planning and economy.

Projects	1976	1977	1978
1. Markets	27	28	7
2. Meat Market houses	4	8	7
3. Slaughter houses	25	4	—
4. Local Government Farm	36	36	33
5. Animal Dips	3	27	6
6. Gardens	1	5	—
7. Water sources expansion	8	17	17
8. Water sheds	1	—	—
9. Canals	2	4	5
10. Dams	2	—	—
11. Water reservoirs	99	42	9
12. Open wells	50	60	4
13. Lighting schemes	15	21	22
14. Drilling wells	15	—	—
15. Salt projects	2	—	—
16. Road construction	6	6	9
17. Guidance centres	10	6	3
18. Recreational	4	10	11
19. Rest houses	16	7	12
20. Office construction	16	15	14
21. Domestic Centers	14	24	18
22. Kuranic Schools	2	5	3
23. Cinemas	2	3	—
24. Restaurants	2	—	1
25. Training centre	1	—	—
26. Engine houses	7	4	6
27. Garages	5	2	2
28. Stores	4	2	5
29. Health Centres	3	2	—
30. Worker's houses	14	17	13
31. Mosques	2	2	1
32. Statues	1	—	—
33. Hospitals	—	1	—
34. Workers Coffee shops	—	1	1
35. Cementery fences	—	1	1
36. Disposal of sewage	—	2	1
37. Toilets	—	3	—
38. Dhows	—	1	—
39. Village gatherings	5	8	6

Projects	1979	1980	1981
1. Community Centres	28	17	8
2. Markets	38	38	42
3. Stores	24	35	28
4. Kuranic schools	49	159	77
5. Domestic schools	29	20	20
6. Toilets and disposals	58	66	79
7. Water reservoirs & dam	57	44	32
8. Canals	47	27	21
9. Different Constructions	58	27	28
10. Worker's Houses	71	71	34
11. Technical Centres	24	9	15
12. Livestock Dips	67	66	61
13. Small Roads Construction	41	31	31
14. Rest Houses	11	5	4
15. Play grounds	16	16	12
16. Farms	50	14	29
17. Health Centres	45	39	34
18. Cinemas	4	2	—
19. Child Care Centres	3	—	2
20. Shallow Wells	63	61	39
21. Shops	12	10	5
22. Offices	12	39	39

TOTAL Yearly Funds 1979	So. Sh.	46,744,206
TOTAL Yearly Funds 1980	So. Sh.	36,543,666
TOTAL Yearly Funds 1981	So. Sh.	39,505,000

PARTICIPATION OF RURAL FAMILIES IN LOCAL LEVEL PLANNING

The historical background of October Revolution was basically conditioned by the difficulties experienced in the country as a whole, in the fields of economy, culture and social affairs, in fact, the survival of the Somali nation was in danger.

One of the main reasons that brought in the revolu

tion was the poverty situation in rural life which generated betterness day by day, and showed the substantial differences in life in the rural and urban areas.

As the majority of the Somali people live in the rural areas, the revolutionary government resolved to improve and develop the social well-being of rural society.

To achieve this the government decided that steps

should be taken to enable rural communities to participate in planning the development programmes concerning their development, in addition, it encouraged self-help schemes with economic and technical assistance from the Government.

1. The extension of national administration.

2. To raise the standard and political attitude of rural society by holding continuous training and seminars.

3. Inspection by high officials of state to determine the needs of rural people.

4. The spread of the principle of self-help schemes and its importance in coordinating the interests of the Government and communities.

5. The establishment of social organs such as those for youth, cooperatives, women, workers and victory pioneers.

6. Implementation of rural development campaign and its consolidation campaigns.

THE EXTENSION OF NATIONAL ADMINISTRATION.

On 8th June 1972, Law N.O. 52 was proclaimed and it concerns the re-establishing of the Local Government bodies of all regions, districts and villages.

OBJECTIVES OF THE LAW

1. That rural society is served promptly by the National Government with minimum delay in transmitting things from the Capital.

2. That communities shall directly participate in the national administration.

3. To raise the attitudes, knowledge and the functional abilities of the communities.

4. To bring to the notice of the central government the difficulties and aspirations of the people.

5. To ensure that services are taken to the communities, down to the lowest levels.

Coordination of action between the Government and communities had been stepped up by the revolution, assuring that the services done by local government bodies are compelled to be taken to the communities in order to fall in line with their requirements.

This law facilitates democratic centralism, which coordinates the central government plan and the rural area plans in respect of economy, administrative, policy and culture.

In order to assure the realization of the Law's objectives, there were established the revolutionary council, and committees of regional, district and village levels. They are required to handle development and services for the rural communities through a number of committees such as:

1. Economic development committee
2. Social affairs committee
3. Defence and peace committee
4. Financial administration control committee
5. Political guidance and orientation committee

6. Medication committee

The local government councils in the Regions are comprised of heads of government Departments and public representatives. The same applies to the District revolutionary council. But, the villages committees (councils) are composed of public representatives only and they are responsible for administration and village development.

The Law mentioned above certifies the powers of regional councils as well as these of districts and villages as follows:

1. To take such steps as are necessary for the accomplishment of its duties and works vested in it.

2. Organizing and regulating the tasks which appear as services among the society objectives.

3. Advices extended by the central government concerning culture to be responded to accordingly.

4. The execution of their decisions that have the power of laws, if not amended by the central government on a law form.

The matters mentioned above show how rural society is given a chance to examine plans affecting their lives.

It is essential to bear in mind that decisions of their revolutionary councils carry the power of law and needed to be obeyed if not generally contradicting the national law.

Other measure which diffused the national administra-

tion's power was the formation of new Regions and districts which made possible greater participation by rural people.

Prior to the revolution the Divisions were regions (8) in number; and districts (48) forty-eight, but, as at today, there are 16 regions and 67 districts and three (3) Agricultural Cooperatives administered as districts.

All these measures were taken to abroad base government services and allow for greater participation of society as a whole, while also enabling society to transmit their feelings, difficulties and advices to the central government. The regions, districts and villages are attempting to reach their target of self-sufficiency based upon their socio-economic services to the people.

11. To foster correct Political Attitudes and Orientation of the Rural Communities.

In order to maintain people's participation, seminars and training classes are held with the following aims :-

1. To improve their general knowledge on various matters including agriculture, health, education, veterinary science, fishery and politics.

2. To make them understand the national development policy and the importance of the principle of self-help projects.

3. To acknowledge their difficulties and the needs of the rural society.

4. To unify political thoughts, economy and the culture of the people in general.

5. To collect the important information for the rural development.

Thus, such seminars and training camps offer to the people opportunities for rural participation in formulating their development plans that are in conformity with national policies.

III. The Regional, District and Village Inspection

The 21st October Revolution declared that each year there shall be at least one inspection tour made by the heads of the government of the regions, districts and villages in order to be fully acquainted with rural life. During their tour the heads shall have meetings with the village people aimed at the exchange of ideas and advice.

The 21st October Revolution proclaimed that the Somali nation shall be confident of itself and follow the principle of self-reliance. In order to implement their needs on the principle of self-help projects, the revolutionary government had introduced law number 39 of 11/5/72 concerning the organization of self-help schemes. It lays down that the committees in villages, districts and regions should cooperatively think, decide and execute the needed projects as well as measures covering the development of the environment.

V. The Establishment of Social Groups and the Armed Forces

The social groups are composed of youth, workers, women, victory pioneers, coope-

ratives and merchants. These groups participate in setting up plans and its execution in connection with their settlements. The delegate members to the local committees. They are the guiding elements of national development in cooperation with the armed forces. They are also responsible for executing measures concerning the organizing developing, orientating and to advise in the needs and feelings of the society. They are also responsible for maintenance of peace and the increase of production.

of the Rural Development Campaign

Though, the rural development campaign deserves to be treated separately, yet as I have pointed there, because it is one of the revolutionary measures of self-help administration. The law points out that every society shall have the responsibility to set up and execute projects that covering their livelihood developments with the help of the central government in technical and economical measures. Therefore, no project that could be executed in any district or village by the local or central government without the plan of the people concerned. The principle of self-help schemes is uniting the interests and needs of the rural society by its guidance to the needed developments. The schemes are the following:

— Construction of schools, mosques, guidance centres, stores, latrines, dispensaries, roads, health centres, dips, water canals, wells, berkedes, pools, hospitals, offices, shops, dams agricultural cooperatives, animal cooperatives, grazing areas and domestic schools,

The money, mind and muscles that those constructions are being implemented have been paid by the local people with the assistance of central government.

development of rural society in particular and the country in general.

The Objectives are to Execute the Campaign

1. Eradication of illiteracy
2. Improvement of public and animal health
3. Census for both people and livestock

The additional interests beyond these were :

1. To know more about the rural situation and the determination of their needs
2. To train the rural people then to solve their elementary needs and their participation in social development
3. To preserve the advantages of customs and cultures of rural society
4. To promote acquaintance and close relations between the rural and urban peoples in order to remove their differences
5. Execution of principles of self-help schemes, justice, self reliance programmes.

The campaign has enabled the rural society to understand its obligations. After the birth of Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party on 1st July 1976, the Party members replaced the revolutionary councils in relation to the administrative

and social bodies established in regions, districts and villages. But in respect of responsibility no change has taken place. Further information is given in the paper concerning (Rural Administrative Infrastructure).

Therefore, the above mentioned measures are certified, indicate fully how the rural society participates in preparing their future. One difficulty which needed to be mentioned is that the society requires some training on pre-

parations and executions of its plans.

The revolutionary principle is to work together, discuss together and follow up on your decisions and resolutions based on majority rule system.



Legal Position Of Constitution Laid Among Other Laws

In studying Constitutional Law it is imperative at first hand to pin point the position of Constitution or constitutional law in general and in particular among other laws. That is before scrutinizing the nature of their relationship. The two different systems of socialism and capitalism have their socio-economic discrepancies. Similarly, disparities exist in their respective legal systems and their relationship. Scholars of the capitalist system and those in the transitional stage who inherited their legal system from the above system, have divided law into two main divisions: aforesaid laws are related to Public and Private law.

Public law regulates relations or cases in which the state having its sovereign status is a party. The other party either being an ordinary individual or a state.

Further, public law is subdivided into external (public international law) and internal law. Major branches of the said law are the following: Constitutional, Administrative, Penal, Financial and Social security laws etc.

While private law embr-

ces civil and commercial law (Labour, Civil, Commercial law procedure and private international law). The two main divisions of the law.

Furthermore, private law regulates relations among individuals and the state. That is a state with its sovereign status is equal to an ordinary individual. Therefore, the above division is based on the opinion of the aforesaid scholars who are different as we shall see from the scholars of the other socio-economic system.

Thus, law scholars of the socialist system do not recognise the above division of the law into two main categories as a scientific method. That is the division of the law into public and private law.

Time and the limitation of the subject matter does not permit us to dwell on the refusal of the socialist scholars to recognise the two main division of the law. However, it is pertinent to observe two important points: The first one deals with the nature of the system. That is socialist law

does not permit strengthening private ownership of the means of production. The importance and the class role which the legal system of capitalism strengthen itself. The second point is connected with the scientific division of the law.

Therefore, socialist scholars do not view the above division of the law as a scientific one, but consider it as a smokescreen, used by the ruling capitalist class to perpetuate itself in power. Hence they equate public law with public interest and the state as being the protector of the public interest.

Moreover, they believe that every law has to be given the title of the subject it regulates. It seems that although scholars of the two systems are divided in their views concerning the two divisions of the law, but concur on the special importance of constitutional law with respect to ordinary internal laws.

However, such consensus does not make constitutional law as the only fundamental law. It seems that there could exist other fundamen-

tal or basic laws that are not part of constitutional law, but regulates other matters of vital importance to a given nation. But these laws do not necessarily come under the constitution like ordinary laws as long as they are compatible in substance and subject wise.

The said laws and some principles having constitutional validity could be seen or inferred from the laws which the revolution governed the country. Such laws regulated the political, economical and social system of the state. Hence in drafting of the SDR, the above laws were utilised. Although it was not possible to include all of them in the new constitution. Nevertheless, the new constitution underlines their constitutional importance.

In substance and subject wise the new constitution and the said laws are identical, for example, article 40 of the constitution is in Party with the planning law placing it at forefront of other laws. While article 83 which gives the President extra-ordinary power in promulgating laws is consistent with the spirit of the constitution whenever there is an emergency situation existing in the country.

Besides, some revolutionary laws have their own

importance and constitutional value. Equally, the principle and the objectives of the revolution have the same value with the exception of the third principle of Foreign policy which was mentioned in the first charter of the revolution, consequently we could find in the constitution important items which are not contingent in their realisation the absence of conflict with the constitution, but have been attached apart from their compatibility with the principles and the objectives of the revolution. A good example is the preamble of the constitution and article 29, etc.

Accordingly, in our view the position of constitutional law with respect to other laws outside its domain is tied to the nature of such laws and the subject they regulate. In other words, if the subject matter they regulate is or is not a constitutional matter. Thus if the subject or the relations which such laws regulates is an ordinary law lacking constitutional nature they come directly under the constitution. For example, the way the constitution of the SDR refers to in article 113.

As pointed out earlier some principles which regulate a subject having constitutional nature share with

the constitution a legal and political importance. Therefore, we can not say that every law which is outside the realm of the constitution does not possess constitutional importance. The same could be said that every article in the constitution has constitutional substance or relevance. The reason being that it is possible for constitutional document to incorporate constitutional law and an ordinary law.

The above reason have to be included in the constitutional document of ordinary law. It is possible to protect these laws from simple alteration before it is incorporated within the real of the constitution.

Such laws are older than the constitution. Because they do not wither away with the constitution whenever it is abrogated it is not replaced by special law. For example article 40 of the defunct constitution of 1961, speaks of civil responsibility of the state towards its employee. But this ordinary law was in force despite of the fact that the previous constitution was abrogated.

In conclusion, structural wise the constitution is the basic law of the country. At the same time, in substance it is the fundamental law of the state.

PARTY LIFE



Members of the CC tour the Regions

Party delegations led by members of the central committee departed on 17th August to the districts and regions of the SDR.

The delegates who set off for inspection, although for a limited time 17.30 August, met the Somali people in their respective districts and regions.

The inhabitant of these areas welcomed

warmly the visiting delegations and the people in the various districts and regions discussed issues concerning, the achievements of the 21st. October Revolution, the objectives of the revolution and the task of the Somali people in order to ensure the strategy of the party - which is basically the building of a new society free from

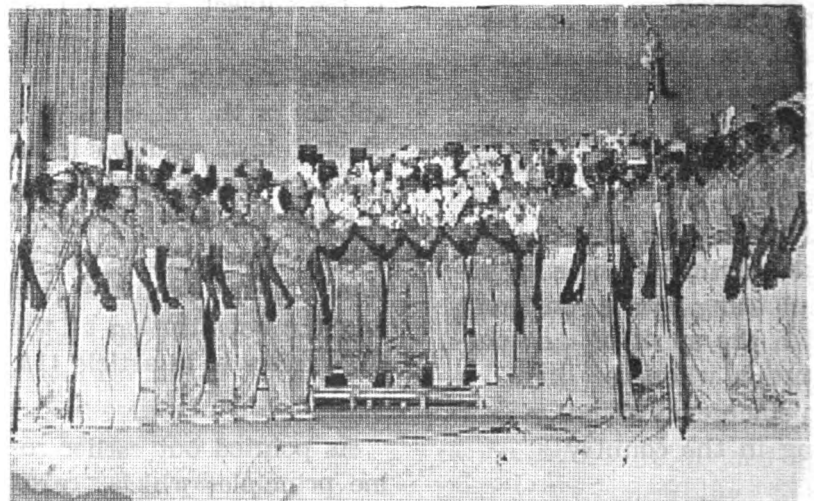
exploitation and underdevelopment.

During this period the delegations participated with the Somali people in balloting for the plebiscite of the new national constitution on 25th August 1979. Obviously, the said historical date in regard to our people's struggle for freedom and development.

Commennoration of the 7th anniversary of the Victory pioneers

The SDR highly celebrated the 7th anniversary of the victory pioneers on 19th August which marked the founding of the victory of laying wreaths, speeches concerning the occasion and concerts depicting the task responsibility and the role of the victory poineers in the nation building and in defending the achievements of the Revolutions.

On the 18th August, groups comprising from the victory poineers, military and police and music bands accompanied by members of the central committee of the SRSP and representatives of the social organisations of the Benadir Region laid wreaths of flowers at the monuments of Sayid Mohamed Abdulla



Hassan, Dhagahtur, Hawtako and the Unknown Soldier.

Another ceremony commemorating the founding day of the victory poineers was held at the National Theatre and a concert was

displayed reflecting the capability and role played by these forces.

The General secretary of the SRSP, and president of the Somali Democratic Republic Jaalle Siyad participated in a ceremony held



at the headquarters of the victory pioneers in Mogadishu. The president delivered a speech of congratulation and emphasised that the foundation of the victory pioneers did not come spontaneously but

through a conscious activity geared towards the elimination of the exceptional quality internal anti-Revolutionary elements. Like wise the president mentioned that members of the victory pioneers are men of who possess political maturity to implement the following tasks: orientation of the masses, assisting the poor, defending the National interests, safe guarding the fruits of the Revolution and leadership of the society. The President was accompanied by members of the CC of the SRSP.

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A New Headquarter for the trade unions of Local government

the chairman of the mobilization Bureau of the CC of the SRSP Jaalle Abdulkadir Haji Mohamed laid a stone of a new headquarter built for the Trade Unions of the local government Tourism and Hotels.

This new building, which will be financed by the Mogadishu local gov't was estimated to cost 1,433,322/ Sh. So.

Speaking on the occasion Jaalle Abdulkadir mentioned that it is the first one of the seven Trade Unions that built a new head quarter of its own.

Jaalle Abdulkadir also admonished the other Trade Unions to follow suit, so that they could fulfill their genuine task and the responsibilities intrusted to them.

While on 10th August the chairman of the mobilization Bureau closed a seminar at the headquarter

of the GCSTU. The participants of 150 people were chairmen and secretaries of the working centres. This seminar which continued for a period of 3 days dealt on matters concerning the preparation for the celebrations of the 10th anniversary of the 21st October Revolution and the considerations given to the value of work and the workers.

In his address Jaalle Abdulkadir emphasised the Advantages of such seminars which raises the political consciousness of the workers. He told the participants about the need to increase their endeavour and the capacity of their organisation. He further emphasised their role for the preparation of the 10th anniversary of the October Revolution.



New forces enrolled into the Party

New members from the Districts of the Benadir Region were recently recruited as members SRSP. They have demonstrated continuous Revolutionary struggle and activities for the last decade but haven't had the opportunity of becoming members of SRSP.

The new members consist

of 1,700 individuals selected from the 18 districts of the Benadir Region. On 13th August a seminar was opened at three districts in the Benadir Region for the new members. These were Hodan, Shibis and Hamar Weyne.

This seminar was in

inaugurated by members of central committee of the SRSP, the new members were learning various subjects concerning the statute and programme of the party the new constitution and the laws of the Referendum.

A Women's seminar concluded

The Chairman of the Somali Women Democratic Organization (SWDO) and member of the Central Committee of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party (SRSP) Comrade Fadumo Omar Hashi, has concluded on 20th August, 1979, a seminar, for 78 member participants of the working Women from the Ministries of Agriculture, Libsoma Agency and the crash programme agency.

In the 8 days seminar the women have fruitfully studied the national draft constitution, its campaign, the subsequent referendum and the programme of the Somali Women Democratic Organization (SWDO).

In her closing speech Comrade Fadumo Omar Hashi has pointed the need for a cooperation and close work between the working women and those who are still confined in domestic and household activities in the Regions, Districts and Villages. That is to exchange experiences and to gain a common outlook



from the Somali Women Democratic Organization Programme.

The chairman of the Somali Democratic Organization Comrade Fadumo Omar Hashi has sincerely encouraged the women to take a leading role in the implementation of the tasks related to the draft constitution since they are one of the leading forces in the society.

Besides, the Chairman of the Somali Women Democratic organization Comrade Fadumo organized mee-

tings with women workers of the different Ministries and agencies on 17th August at the organization's headquarters. In her speech of one of these occasions, Jaalle Fadumo informed the Union's Committee of the working women the tasks and activities of the organization and urged them to fulfill their role in the execution of the programme of the Somali Women Democratic Organization as well as their role in the construction and development of the country.

Workers Seminar Opened

The Vice-Chairman of the General Federation of Somali Trade Union (GFSTU) Comrade Abdillahi Mohamed Mire has opened on 2nd September, 1979, a Seminar for the Workers from the Unions of the Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development and Ministry of Tourism and Hotels.

The participants of the three days seminar which was held at the headquarters of the General Federation of the Somali Trade Unions GFSTU have dis-

cussed thoroughly issues including, the statute of the union, strengthening the cooperative work of the unions and overall issues concerning the tasks of the General Federation of Somali Trade Unions.

In his speech at the opening ceremony, comrade Abdillahi Mohamed Mire has highlighted the tasks of the General Federation of the Somali Trade Unions and its day-to-day activities.

The Vice-Chairman urged the participants of the

seminar to carry out responsibilities and duties of the Somali Workers in the tasks of national construction and the implementation of the socialist ideology.

Comrade Abdillahi encouraged the seminar participants to achieve fruitful and beneficial results. The concrete objectives of the Somali workers are based on the ideology and outlook of our 21st October Revolution of 1969 guided by the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party.

The Chairman of the Mobilization Bureau closed a seminar

The Chairman of the Mobilization Bureau of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party (SRSP) Jaalle Abdulqadir Haji Mohamed have concluded five days seminar for 300 participants at the headquarters of the national printing press. The participants, who were from Banadir Region discussed lectures dealing with the draft constitution and its referendum campaign.

In his closing speech of the seminar, the Chairman of the Bureau Jaalle Abdul-

qadir has disclosed that the new draft constitution of the Somali Democratic Republic is based on the Somali Social environment, on the belief of the Islamic Religion, on Scientific Socialism and the international relations expressing the needs of the Somali people. Furthermore, the Chairman stressed that the national draft constitution is geared to enhance the economic, social and political development of the Somali nation.

The Chairman also com-

mend all those who actively participated in the preparation and execution of the fruitful results. Above all, the Chairman of the Mobilization Bureau of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party SRSP have encouraged the participants to play a dynamic role in the implementation of the national draft constitution.

Present at the closing ceremony of the seminar were members of CC of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist party.

A Friendly Visit



At the beginning of the month of August, Worker's delegation from the Italian confederation of Labour Syndicates (ICLS) have arrived in Mogadishu, the Capital City of Somali Democratic Republic.

The 4 members delegation was led by the secretary of the Italian Confederation of labour syndicates of Milano Region.

During their stay in our country, the delegation had friendly and amicable talks with the Committees of the Banadir Worker's Unions, the talks concerned the collaboration and strengthening of the rela-

tions between the two worker's unions particularly and that of other brother's over, the delegation witnessed the developments achi-

eved by our society during the revolutionary period.

Besides, during the first days of August another delegation from the Eritrean worker's union have paid a friendly visit to Somali Democratic Republic.

The delegation's visit was in response to an invitation offered by the General Federation of Somali Trade Unions. During the week of their stay, the delegation had friendly talks with the General Federation of Somali Trade Unions concerning the collaboration and strengthening of the two worker's unions.



MONTHLY BULLETIN



The New Somali Constitution adopted

The Somali people have unanimously adopted a new constitution in a nation-wide referendum conducted throughout the Somali Democratic Republic.

On 25th August 1979 millions of Somalis of all sexes and from all walks of life went to the polls to cast their votes on a new draft constitution presented by the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party (SRSP).

Voting for the constitutional referendum started officially throughout the country at 6:00 a. m. Local time on Saturday and ended at 10:00 p. m. with the closing of the last polling station. Voters converged at polls to cast their votes in a secret ballot in 1699 polling stations scattered throughout the country's 16 Regions.

The tough spirit with which the people cast their votes in the constitutional referendum was indicative of the high level of political maturity attained by the people and their realization that the draft constitution was worked out and introduced to carry them to a better and prosperous future.

The Secretary General of the SRSP and president of the SDR Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre accompanied by Politburo member Jaalle



Brig. Gen. Anmed Suleman Abdalla, and member of the Central Committee joined the public in casting their votes on 25th August at 1st July school polling station.

The President and his entourage later toured a member of districts in Benadir Region where they were highly impressed by the pollings were progressing and the degree of public attendance.

Similarly Vice-President Jaalle Lt. General Mohamed

Ali Samatar, Jaalle Major General Hussein Kulnie Afrah and Brig-General Isma' Ali Abokor cast their votes respectively at polling stations in Hodan, Hamar Jab-Jab and Wardhigley districts.

Central Committee members, Party functionaries, government officials and social organizations also cast their votes.

Members of the public interviewed at random at various polling stations were highly impressed by the way the referendum was organized and conducted.

Announcing the referendum's provincial results Mogadiscio on 30th August 1979, the Chairman of the Central Committee for the constitutional referendum, Jaalle, Ahmed Jama Abdulle said that out of 3, 597, 592 voters 3, 586, 391 have voted



in favour of the constitution and 7,898 opposed it. The number of spoiled ballot papers totalled 3,303, he said.

He added that the number of voters favouring the constitution constituted 99.69% those opposing 0.22 per cent while the remaining 0.09 per cent deemed invalid.

The validity of the results is subject to the Supreme Court's endorsement which is to be done within ten days from the date of announcement.

Presented by the SRSP, the constitution, which will be the basis for all laws of the country from now on

is to enable the Somali voters to elect a people's Assembly (Parliament) which in turn will elect a President into office for six years.

The newly adopted 114 article constitution contains provisions which guarantee the Somali people peaceful unity and on overall progress under socialism. The constitution enables the People's Assembly to introduce any sensible changes that circumstances may require except in four important areas. No amendments are to be permitted in :

1. The political system of the country.
2. The integrity of the

country.

3. The fundamental rights of the citizens.

The new constitution was a success with 99.69 per cent having voted in favour according to the Chairman of the Central Committee for the constitutional referendum. Thus the opposition accounted for negligible figure in this total.

Such unanimity of opinion by the people on the constitution can not but testify to the overwhelming confidence the masses have in their Revolution and their party. It is a confidence that has shown itself in an outpouring of unprecedented enthusiasm. And the revolution has reciprocated trust in its leadership by handing over complete power to the people.

With an impressive command over their affairs there can be no reason why our people should not attain their socialist goals in the shortest time possible so that everyone will enjoy prosperity, equality and justice in a truly independent and democratic society.



Peoples Militia Anniversary

The President of the SDR Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre addressed members of the peoples Militia Force on 20th of August at a ceremony held in Mogadiscio to mark the occasion of the 7th anniversary of the Force's foundation.

In his address the president complimented the peoples Militia Forces for

active role they have played during the seven years of their existence in defending the gains of the revolution and in the full participation tasks.

Speaking on the objectives for which the Force was formed Jaalle Siad stated that it was initiated during the revolutionary era with the objective of creating a

force destined to crush down internal and external enemies and to reinforce the struggle of the Somali people for peace as well as political, economic and social independence.

The socio-political conditions inherited from colonialism prevailing in the country during the inception of the revolution nece-

assisted the formation of a force to be assigned for the mission of countering the enemies but on opposing the revolution's aspiration of bringing about a social transformation added the president.

Jaalle Siad characterized the peoples Militia as a dedicated force which has attained a high level of political maturity; he stated their responsibilities as orienting the masses the ready peoples, defending the national interests and the gains of the revolution crushing down the enemy and guiding the masses.

He added that the peoples Militia also act as a reserve and supportive force the National Army and Police their duties with a revolution Force implementing participants about the need for the N. A. and Police spirit because said the president «The peoples Militia are composed of workers youth and women who have volunteered to carry out pioneering tasks in addition to their ordinary duties».

Speaking about the reputation earned by the peoples Militia Jaalle Siad pointed out they constitute a pride for the patriot and a threat to the enemy of the revolution.

Jaalle Siad called for the further consolidation and strengthening of the people's Militia so that they can carry out their duties effectively.

The President called upon the Somali people to launch a relentless war against tribalism which he said is the tool used by the reactiona-

ries and the imperialists.

He warned the people the against propaganda and the imperialists aimed at the treacherous activities of discouraging the Somali people for giving priority at the present moment to safeguard their independence and defend the motherland

The SDR president stressed that the SRSP guided by the principles of sociali-

sm and defending on the strength of the Social organizations and the armed forces will surmount and be victorious over all obstacles.

Meanwhile large ceremonies commemorating the occasion were held throughout the 13 districts of the Benadir Region and wreaths of flowers were laid at the Mogadisho monuments.

The day of Namibia

The Organization of African Unity (OAU) on 25th August condemned South African's continued maneuvers to establish a puppet regime in Namibia and to give that territory a «Sham Independence» through an internal settlement.

In a message to mark «Namibia Day» on 26th August, the OAU said Pretoria had persisted in defying implementation of the decision of the U. N. Security Council on Namibia and frustrated the efforts of the five western powers.

It called on all nation and particularly the five as initiators of the proposals adopted by the security council, to support the enforcement measures to be taken against South Africa under chapter 7 of the U. N. charter.

The OAU also urged intensification of the armed struggle by the South West African people's organization (SWAPO) until such time as U. N. plans for Namibia were fully implemented.

For thirty years the uni-

ted Nations has been trying to enable the people of Namibia — formerly known as South West Africa — to choose their own future. The territory — bounded by South Africa Botswana, Angola and the Atlantic — was entrusted to South Africa under a League of Nations mandate in 1920. Following the 2nd World war the newly — founded United Nations sought to bring the territory under its trusteeship system, but to no avail. Following two decades of frustration, the U. N. General Assembly, in 1966 declared the mandate void — a position later sustained by the World Court. The Assembly also declared that Namibia was henceforth a direct U. N. responsibility. The Security Council has also been active on the issue and repeatedly reviewed the whole Namibian problem. As debate got under way, Duns-tan Kamana, President of the U. N. Council for Namibia — which has been acting as a legal administration from outside the territory — urged the Security Council to reaffirm past demands such as South Africa with-



drawal and an end to the Apartheid and Tribal homelands policies. And it should:

Declare and direct that, the people of Namibia be enabled to determine their own future, free elections under the supervision and control of the United Nation be held (for the whole of Namibia) as one political entity.

Ambassador Salim Ameh Salim of Tanzania inquired into the criterion for South African presence in Namibia if South Africa is not a colonial power: «What on earth are they doing in Namibia? What shall we categorize their position and their status in Namibia? In

fact with the impending liquidation of the last remnants of European Colonialism in Africa among the major colonial powers that remains in Africa now is the South African Government».

SWAPO'S Moses Garoeb commented: «I would like to state here for the record of the Security Council that the people of Namibia never Government to come and rule over us. We claim our right before the world and this council to rule ourselves, to develop ourselves or even for that matter to misrule our selves».

A draft resolution condemning South Africa's continued illegal occupation of Namibia, and policies of apartheid and Bantustans, and the military build-up in the territory — and calling for U. N. controlled elections — was introduced by Ambassador Rashleigh Jackson of Guyana on behalf of seven non-permanent security council members:

«The main burden of the resolution is the need for the holding of free elections in Namibia under United Nations supervision and control in order that the people of Namibia will be able to freely express their

opinions about their own future. For a meaningful expression by the Namibians on their future — as distinct from the sham constitutional conference designed by the racist regime during 1975. The resolution was unanimously adopted by the Security Council.

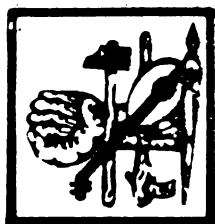
«Give me back Namibia»

Freedom and independence for Namibia is the general theme of yet, another postage stamp issued by the United Nations Postal Administration. The new set issued to coincide with the end of the special session of the U. N. General Assembly on the question of Namibia.

Then in 1975 another stamp was issued that had the title — «Namibia: United Nations direct responsibility». And the latest one has the title: «Namibia: Liberation, Justice and Cooperation». This new design comes in three different denominations and each of the three stamps had a distinct different colour the stamp actually shows shackles where the handcuff so to speak, has been opened by the word Namibia; A symbolic design used in the particular U. N. issue stamp.



CULTURAL AND ARTS



Notes on Soomaali Literature

In Somalia already there are discernable trends towards the revival of the national arts, chiefly in the field of poetry. This process is a part of the overall national awakening which assumed a tangible form in the struggle for independence during the last half a century or so. Naturally, the achievement of national independence gave more impetus to this revival process, and thus self-determination, which should lead to the creation of better social life for the people, becomes a prerequisite for the future development of national cultures as a whole. Given the inductive social environment capable to nourish the people's creative genius, it is fairly reasonable to hope for a steady development in the years to come of Somali national cultures and literature and drama in particular.

After Rage and the Sayid several prominent «Gabayaa» poets rose to great fame in their time, namely Qaman, Aliduh, Salan Arabey, Qawdan Duale and many others. All these dozens of Somali classical poets were, except Rage who lived in an earlier age, contemporaries, having been born in or about the year known as «Gobaysane» or the year of the nobles (c. 1865). These and others of their times are usually considered as the fathers of Somali classical or serious poetry. Here we shall only consider briefly some of the principal

genres of Somali classical poetry.

GABAY : It is not known who was the first gabay singer, since there was no writing system for the Somali language for a considerable time in the past.

It could be safely said, however that gabay is the dominating genre in classical, as well as modern Somali poetry. Rage Ugas is considered to have been the founder of the gabay, with the refrain word «Hooyaalayey» or «Hoobaalayey». The word has no particular significance of its own, it only serves to give the singer or poet time to mentally construct or memorise the next line of verse to be recited. Gabay is, in fact, a versified story and almost any social problem could serve as the subject of gabay, but its usual themes, especially amongst the nomadic community, in the old days were for example:

1. Description of historic victories;
2. Usefulness of camels, horses;
3. Women's grace;
4. Description of the idyllic life of the nomadic community;
5. Self-boasting of the poet (arar) etc;

We shall quote here as an illustration few lines the Sayi

d's famous gabay «Koofil», an epic poem dedicated to one of the great victories of the Somali patriotic forces over the British Colonial Troops. «Koofil» is a Somali misspelling of «Corfield», the name of one of the British commanders killed when his forces were defeated at the battle of Dulmadobe in northern Somaliland. Usually Somali gabay with a serious subject like Koofil are recited from memory by professional poets before the people, so as to give a historical account retrospectively:

You have died Corfield
and no longer in this world
merciless journey was your
portion

When, Hell-destined
you set out for the other
world

those who have gone to heaven
will question
you, if God is willing

say that: «from that day to
this the Dervishes
never ceased their assault
upon us

The British were broken, the
noise of battle engulfed us.

Say: «if stubborn denials
are to be abandoned

then my clansmen were defeated.

Say: «the Dervishes are in the advancing.

V13. B.W. Anddrzejewski and Musse Galal — *The Interior and The City in Somalia*, Mogadicio, 1969).

GEERAAR. This is also a story in a verse form, chiefly employed in the old days to express the poet's feelings in great social occasions, such as celebrating historic victories over the enemy, preparation for battle, desire for revenge for wrongs done to one self, praise of ancient national heroes, a fast horses, etc. Same as gabay Somali poets of the younger generation use geeraar in political and other social topics of the modern world. Shorter meter of the lines (usually 7 lines) than in gabay (usually 14 lines) is normally used in geeraar, but it's language is much more forceful than in gabay. As an example we quote here a few lines from a geeraar by Farah Shuriye, one of the wellknown somali poets of the present generation:

a rider of a steed splendid
galoping gracefullv by
slackening never the reins

and a rider of donkey weak-
ling

couldn't on journey compa-
nions be

when drought severe scor-
ches the earth

and rain unsēen for long

a possessor of camels nume-
rous in milk abundant

and owner of single a goat
couldn't in wealth companio-
ns be.

Geeraar and gabay are, therefore, two of the principle genres in classical or serious Somali poetry. Both gabay and geeraar follow a strict system of alliteration by which the poet keeps proper symmetry of his beyd, or stanza, and by which the poem as a whole is judged in respect of rhyme, choice of language etc. Defective alliteration in a line of gabay or geeraar would indicate lack of poetic ability on the part of a Somali poet. There are no less than forty different genres in modern Somali poetry, and they all conform to an alliterative pattern in their textual construction. Sayid Mohamed's epic poem «Koofil» is, for instance, alliterated with the fully accented phoneme «J».

RURAL DRAMA

Dramatic plays might portray the behaviour, manner, way of speaking of persons etc. designed for effect, showy not natural.

The author of a novel, essay etc, in order that the reader may understand the representation of image of life indicated by the author, or the characters in it, narrates the situation in which these characters are acting, their actions and feelings.

The author of a lyrical work of art gives the feelings of a person, his thoughts etc. On the other hand, the author of a dramatic work of art shows all this through the action, through behaviour, speech and feelings of his characters and in this way the author has the possibility of showing the characters in his work of art on the stage. Dramatical creations are mainly intended for showing on the stage.

Existing evidence indicates that Somalia had a well developed dramatic art in earlier periods of her history. That ancient art foreign cultures that clashed on with the Somali cultures as a whole to sustain itself, to hold on to its native ground and withstand the outside pressure, was due, in our opinion, to the fact that due, in our opinion, to the fact that it had sufficiently strong deep roots in its own soil. Otherwise it could not possibly have been able to resist such cataclystic pressure exerted upon it by the various alien cultures with which it came into a direct contact. In this, the Somali theatre has played a dominant role in the country's cultural life since very early times, though in later ages its influence was checked by unfavourable circumstances, such as the colonial interference with the people's cultural growth as a whole. The colonialists made great efforts to suppress all progressive thought amongst the Somali people. Conscious of the fact that the theatre is an effective medium of influencing people, they banished all dramatic art to the extent that one had to obtain a special permit from the Carabinieri to stage even the traditional dances on festive occasions.

It is generally said that the African cannot exist without playing on his drum, to propitiate his ancient domestic deities and spirits, to discharge extra energy etc. In our opinion the same could be said of any other people in the world, since man needs some sort of spiritual food, some liesure and recreation for colonial administrators could not control the people's mind by force, and the pastoral theatre in Somalia continued to exist, not-

withstanding the extremely difficult conditions under which it had to exist during the unhappy colonial era, inspiring the people to sustain their social ideals. The theatre was chiefly active in the countryside, where police surveillance was less strigent, than in the towns. There, in the evenings, when the flocks were safely in the pen and every member of the nomadic community have had his/her bōwiful of milk, it is then time for the dance square. Here experienced actors perform before the entire village population who sit around in such a manner as to form a large circle in the open air, in the middle of which the actors perform. In this kind of theatre, improvised in the heart of the African jungle, the traditional theatrical adjuncts such as costume, scenery, music etc. play no role; what is significant is the visual action by which the actor interprets the plot of the story that is being presented on the stage. The story-teller-actor dramatizes his voice, mimic action etc. in an effort to put across his story to the audience as effectively as possible. This kind of rural theatre is usually seen amongst the nomadic communities of northern Somalilands. It is called shir.

The conflict is usually between good and evil in which the former wins almost always. Such a happy finale receives the general satisfaction and approval of the simple pastoral audience, who consider destruction of evil forces as the highest moral obligation of man.

GAMBARALE

In the reverine areas of the Banadir region another kind of

a dramatic play entitled Gambarale is staged on festive occasions, such as harvest seasons etc. This is a poetic contest between local poets, where the winner is proclaimed before the audience as a poet in his own right. This is, in fact, a great honour coveted by many would-be poets, but few ever reach at such a poetic height.

The visual object of the poetic duel could be a village beauty, whose favours several young men may be competing for. The tradition is that in such case one should win her hand through a public poetic contest. The participants could only recite poems composed by themselves, usually in praise of the beloved one. The contest is arranged by the elders poets of the community who are at the same time on the lookout for young talents, who might one day succeed them.

The contestants line up on one side of the square, facing the audience, each one of them coming into the centre of the arena and reciting his poem. There might be ten or more contestants.

There are usually a large audience present at such spectacle, composing of the ordinary men and women of the village, who come to the dance square to witness the event. Everybody brings in his/her Gambar, a low Somali stool, to sit upon during the long hours of the performance. From this piece of furniture the name of the play is derived, the traditions say. The people are not however, more onlookers, but they fully participate in the event unfolding before them by applauding the performance of the more talented contestant, and at the same time noting the defects of the

less talented participants. In deed, the audience here is the real judge of the present, who are to pronounce the final outcome of the contest, bearing in mind the general feelings of the audience.

At the end of the performance, which might last for many hours, the leading poet-judge of the community enters the arena and pronounces, in a verse form (usually Guroow), his final decision before the audience, and he proclaims the winner of the contest. His judgment is often in agreement with the general feelings of the audience expressed beforehand by their enthusiastic applause, encores etc.

As the judge ends his recitation, a group of dancers, both men and women, enter the square and enact a joyous folkdance as a happy finale to the poetic duel.

The prize of the poetic contest, the charming beauty of the village, is thus «won» by the most talented young poet, since the people, together with their elder poets, have adjudged so. She is not, however, forced to marry him if she does not want to.

Thus Gambarale is principally a theatrical performance with a serious plot based on a social theme. At the same time it is an event which provides light-hearted entertainment and recreation for the toiling people in the rural areas of Somalia.

MODERN DRAMA

The struggle for Somali independence, spearheaded by the famous Somali nationalist, Sayid Mohamed at the turn of the present century, had resul-

ted in touching of the people's patriotic sentiments that ever since could not have been fully extinguished by foreign domination over the decades of colonial overlordship in the Somalilands. The dramatic art, Therefore, acts as a suitable media for such a people to give expression to common national feelings on stage. Hence the rapid revival and development of drama in the country, which is presently having such a great popularity in Somali society. The theatrical art has been developing in Somalia during the past thirty years or so, but it took tangible strides during the revolutionary years, when a profound cultural revolution took place in the country as a whole. Although this seems to be a new addition to the tradition folkloric literature already indicated, it could safely be said that the Somali theatre had, in fact, always existed in the nation's cultural history, and that it was continuously performed at least in some regions of Somalia, such as Lower Juba, Banadir etc.

The rapid development of dramatic art in the country during the past few years was illustrated, for instance, by extraordinary forceful play entitled «DASHED HOPES» (La Moqd Noqonse Weydey), staged in 1969 by the dramatic ensemble of the National Army. The play revolved around a problematic theme:

On the one hand, there is a genuine love between two young people (Miss Haweya and her lover Olad, who are the representative of the young generation.

Being both of them soldiers in the national army, they are conscious of the great responsibility on their shoulders, namely the defence of the motherland. There is, on the other hand, Mr. Mire, a wealthy and influential middle-aged man, who with the power of his money and social position, determined to possess Haweya.

Thus, a sharp dramatic social conflict is created, which is realistically based on contemporary Somali social relationships. The young generation has entirely different views on modern life and its multiple problems, whereas the old members of society could not detach themselves from their habitual pattern of thought and from old values. Haweya and her lover are conscious of the new demands made on their generation, of their role in the new Somalia, and they believe that nothing should hinder this energetic generation accomplishing its social mission. Optimism and youthful determination in the end defeat rigid conservative views which tend to stand to the way to social progress. For without action there could be

no life, no social evolution. Such is the law of nature.

The October Democratic Revolution spearheaded by the Somali Armed Forces has transformed the country economically, politically, ideologically and culturally. During the colonial era and subsequently in the period of corrupt civilian regimes Somali culture was a voice in the wilderness kept alive only by a nucleus of our artists and the common people, but it has now come to the forefront in the new society we are creating. The Somali artist has now found his rightful place and the declared policy of our Democratic Revolution to revive the nation's rich cultural heritage was crowned with great success by the announcement on the third anniversary of the revolution (1972) of the Supreme Revolutionary Council's decision to adopt the Latin script for writing the Somali language.

The Revolutionary Government of Somalia is making every effort to safeguard our cultural values for the succeeding generations, as well as for the benefit of the world large. Having now turned over a new leaf in our national history, and thereby releasing the creative energy of our people, we are confident that we shall achieve considerable success in this direction in the years to come.

THEORETICAL ISSUES



The class nature of the Socialist oriented State

To overcome the Capitalist colonial legacy of backwardness and to lay a strong foundation for socialism in one and same time cannot be achieved unless the political leadership launches a drastic progressive social transformation. In other words, the implementation of the above pressing tasks needs the establishment of the state whose objective is to bring together the forces of the society and to express the interests of the majority and in the forefront, the interests of working people.

The abolition of the capitalist relations and creation of new social relations can only take place and be realized by a socialist-oriented state.

To understand the difficult social nature of the society who have chosen the non-capitalist way of development requires a deep rooted historical approach to the concrete conditions. The rich experience of mankind which is the result of a long history of mankind have witnessed that every new state what ever course it is taking is in essence a political instrument of a class nature which is safeguarding the interests of either the exploited or exploiters of a particular society.

For instance the states that ruled the slave - owning and feudalism societies, were the dictatorial instruments of the slave-owners. Likewise, the emergence of the bourgeois state as a result of the bourgeois class came to power protects the interests of the ex-

plorers (bourgeois class) in every field of social life. Unlike the old dictatorial states the socialist state is an organization consisting of the get-together political leadership of the exploited toiling masses of the society. The first socialist state appeared after the defeat of the exploiting classes by the toiling masses and established a socialist state based on the dictatorship of the proletariat with the genuine alliance of the peasants and other toiling social groups such as the progressive intelligentsia and the armed forces.

These facts prove that the tangible and progressive new social relations of the proletarian state is an advantage of socialism over all preceded and out-dated social relations. It is beyond doubt that the proletarian state established after the Revolutionary destruction of the rule of the exploiting minority is the political leadership and administrative force of the exploited and oppressed masses.

Within that framework it is a fact that in every historical stages of social development (with the exception of communal society) the existing state is a political organization or a political instrument which expresses and defends the interests of a certain class.

This historical objective is also true for the socialist-oriented states for it is not a state for all existing social classes and groups, but it is a political instrument which expresses the interests of certain classes and

certain social groups.

As far as the specific and concrete conditions of the societies differ the socialist-oriented states can apply different forms and means to implement their policy which is in essence part and parcel of the international revolutionary struggle for socialism. So it is not strange to see different names for the socialist-oriented states so far in essence, they are the dictatorship of the democratic revolution of the masses and that it is ideologically different from the bourgeois dictatorship of the exploiting minority.

The term mass changes and transforms historically with the development of mankind, and unites diverse contents resulting from the diverse conditions of the different societies such as the level of economic development which varies from society to society.

Among others, the downtrodden working class who is directly attached to the production process is a component so there are other social groups who under certain conditions join the masses temporarily and play their historical role necessitated by then existing objective conditions.

For instance during the liberation struggle various class and social groups which are in essence have contradictory and opposing interests and objectives are united under the banner of liberation and to oust colonialism from their soil. But after the victory of the national struggle against coloniali-

sm is assured, the national bourgeoisie and other exploiting social groups start to perpetuate the colonial policy which was to exploit the rest of their society in order to achieve their own individualistic and selfish interests.

Many African and Asian societies were deceived by their national bourgeoisie after the independence and lead these societies to the capitalist way of development and brought them in close collaboration and more precisely, became part of the imperialist world. Besides there are other societies who have chosen the non-capitalist way of development in which a lot of imperialist puppet took part in the decision making at the highest level of their political leadership. These puppets always defend the interests of the national bourgeoisie, the landowners as well as international imperialism in every aspect and hinders the implementation of the revolutionary tasks set forth for the development of the society these reactionary imperialist clique always resort to cause to political instability with the help of foreign intervention. Considering all the historical experiences we have to be sure enough that certain compromises with the bourgeoisie and above all, to keep favorite puppet elements along the political leadership is a great damage to the working class interests and the tasks for building socialism.

For all the above facts we can deduce that it is not always possible for the whole people to fully participate in the progressive movements of national democratic revolution and more precisely, that the political leadership of Democratic Revolution is not always handled by full fledged and veteran revolutionaries. Likewise

we can deduce that the content of the socialist-oriented states is of a class nature and is the alliance of the working class and the peasantry, and other sections of the society such as the progressive intelligentsia and the armed forces. However, it is possible that within the alliance there participate nationalist groups who in the long run could not go along with and could not support the working class struggle for building socialism.

It needs a bitter and severe struggle in order to implement a progressive transformation within a society who is under colonial domination or capitalist exploitation and precisely enough the struggle between communists and capitalists gets protracted and reaches its culmination at certain stages of its development. The only way to achieve a progressive social transformation is to keep the bourgeoisie and all selfish elements away from the power and to establish a strong basis for socialist policy. Moreover, it is very necessary for all the progressive forces of the socialist oriented state to unite under a national democratic front. The realization of the unity of the progressive forces is not only confined within the liberation period but it is also necessary during the national transformations in order to consolidate the people's power. Though, the socialist-oriented state is in the hands of the people the role of the various classes and groups for the execution of the policy differ. In other words, there are classes and groups who are passive to fully participate the progressive activities which are set forth for progressive transformation of the society. For that reason it is very imperative for the working class and the peasantry who are at the same time the majority of the so-

ciety to express the constitution of the state, likewise, it is necessary for these forces to depend on each other and integrate their efforts under the circumstances they all passing through.

Among other things, both the democratic forces of the socialist-oriented state and a socialist state have Anti-imperialist character but also they differ in many aspects. A people's rule can be achieved after the elimination of the classes and elements who are ruling to plunder and plundering to the rule and to build a developed socialist society. But the socialist-oriented state is at the first stage of the transition from a national democratic revolution towards a socialist revolution. This means that the socio-economic system during the period of the national democratic revolution is composed of different opposing sectors in which each sector is dominated by a certain class. That is to say, the socialist oriented state has not fully executed the new socialist economic order with its new social relations.

Among other things, the socialist-oriented state aims for the mobilization of the revolutionary democrats of the workers and peasants with its complex specific conditions such as the transitional character of the economy and the social structure, due to the fact that the national bourgeoisie who played a good role in the liberation struggle are at this stage fighting against all progressive movements and activities and more precisely against the struggle of the working class and the peasantry for building socialism.

But, all in all, the general trend of development of the country and the social relations can be clearly reflected in the economic plan of the country.



The New Somali constitution

Preamble to the Constitution

The Somali people collectively and individually struggling for a life of dignity and equality, and engaged in a fight to establish lasting peace and stability internally and externally, to realise the general interest of the working masses, and accomplish the major objectives of the revolution, unity of the nation, socialist construction in order to create a society founded on socialist justice, equality and democracy in which the individual attains higher level of political and social consciousness and strengthen the pillars of the revolution and socio-economic development, have resolved to adopt this constitution which shall constitute the basis of the struggle for the development, of the Somali society peaceful co-existence and mutual cooperation among nations of the world, especially those whose interest shall coincide.

The Constitution of the Somali Democratic Republic

Chapter 1

General Principles

Section 1

The Republic

Article 1

The Somali State.

1. The Somali Democratic Republic is a Socialist state led by the working class and is an integral part of the Arab and African entities.
2. All sovereignty belongs to the people who shall exercise it through their representative institutions.

Article 2

Flag, Emblem and the Capital

1. The national Flag shall be azure in colour, rectangular, and shall have a white star with five equal points emblazoned in its centre.
2. The emblem of the Somali Democratic Republic shall be Composed of an azure escutcheon with a gold border and bear a silver five-pointed star. The escutcheon surmounted by an embattlement with five points in moorish style, the two lateral points halved, shall be borne by two leopards rampant in natural form facing each other, resting on two lances crossing under the point of the escutcheon, with two palm-leaves in natural form interlaced with a white ribbon.
3. Mogadisho (Hamar) shall be the capital of the Somali Democratic Republic.

Article 3

Religion and Language

1. Islam shall be the state religion.
2. Somali is the language which all Somalis speak and through which they understand each other; Arabic is the language of the Somali people which links them with the Arab nation, of whom they are an integral part, and the two languages shall constitute the official languages of the Somali Democratic Republic.

Article 4

The unity of the Somali People

1. The Somali People are one and the Somali nationality is indivisible.
2. The law shall determine the modes of

acquiring and losing Somali Citizenship.

Article 5



State territory

1. The state territory shall be sacred and inviolable.
2. Territorial sovereignty shall extend over land, the sea the water column, sea-bed and subsoil, continental shelf, islands and airspace.

Article 6

Equality of Citizens

All citizens regardless of sex, religion, origin and language shall be entitled to equal rights and duties before the law.

Section Two

The Party

Article 7

Authority and leadership of the Party

1. The Somali Revolutionary Socialist party shall be the only legal party in the Somali Democratic Republic. No other party or political organisation may be established.
2. The Somali Revolutionary Socialist party shall have supreme authority of political and socio economic leadership in the Somali Democratic Republic.

Article 8

Unitary nature of the leadership

The leadership of the country shall be founded on the unitary system of political leadership of the party and state.

Article 9

Deliberations, Decisions and execution

1. political institutions elected at all levels shall function in accordance with the principle of collective deliberations, majority decisions and collective responsibility in execution.

2. Within the party institutions the afore-stated principle shall dictate the unity of view points, sensitivity, purpose and collective work.

Article 10

Complementarity of party and state duties

1. Party and state institutions shall discharge their respective duties as prescribed by the law, each pursuing its own methods in order to accomplish the common objectives.
2. The political mobilisation of the country shall be based on the complementarity of duties of party and state institutions as prescribed by the laws establishing them.

Article 11

Party Statute

The structure and functions of the party institutions shall be determined by the statute of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party.

Article 12

Social organisations

1. The state shall allow the establishment of social organisations of the workers, cooperatives, youth and women.
2. Social organisations shall be established on national, local production levels and in educational centres.
3. The specific structure, statutes and programmes of the social organisations shall be in consonance with the general and the programme of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist party.

Article 13

Powers and duties of Social Organisations

Social organisations shall participate in the leadership of state and Social affairs and resolution of political, economic, social and cultural matters in accordance with the duties prescribed in their respective laws.

Article 14**Democratic Centralism**

The principle of Democratic centralism shall be the basis of mobilisation, and functions of party and state.

Section three foreign policy**Article 15****The principle of selfdetermination**

1. The Somali Democratic Republic shall firmly uphold the principle of self-determination of people's and fully supports the national liberation movements, and all the peoples fighting for their freedom and independence.
2. It shall resolutely oppose colonialism, neo-colonialism, international imperialism and racial discrimination.

Article 16**Somali territories under colonial occupation**

Somali territories under colonial occupation the Somali Democratic Republic adopting peaceful and legal means shall support the liberation of Somali territories under colonial occupation and shall encourage the unity of the Somali people through peaceful means and their free will.

Article 17**Policy of neutrality and peaceful co-existence**

1. The Somali Democratic Republic shall pursue a policy of positive neutrality
2. It shall fully recognize the principle of peaceful co-existence of the peoples of the world.

Article 18**Policy of cooperation**

The Somali Democratic Republic shall promote a policy of cooperation among all peoples and states based on mutual benefit, equality, and respect for the sovereignty and political system peculiar to each state.

Article 19**International legal Norms**

The Somali Democratic Republic shall recognise the Universal declaration of human rights and generally accepted norms of international law.

Chapter 2**Article 20****Fundamental rights, freedoms and duties of the citizen and Individual**

Political, economic, and Social rights
Every citizen shall be entitled to participate fully in the political, economic, social and cultural activities in accordance with the constitution and laws.

Article 21**Right to work**

1. Every citizen shall be entitled to work. Work is a duty, honour and the foundation of a socialist society.
2. The state shall promote the creation of employment in order to realise the citizen's right to work.

Article 22**Right to election**

Every citizen who fulfils the conditions prescribed by the law shall be entitled to elect and be elected.

Article 23**Right to election**

Every citizen shall have the right to free education.

ARTICLE 24

Freedom of Processions, publication and opinion

1. Every citizen shall be free to participate in an assembly, demonstrations, or in their organisation.
2. The citizen shall further be entitled to

express his opinion in any manner, freedom of publication and speech,

3. The exercise of the freedoms mentioned in paragraphs 1 & 2 of this article shall not contravene the Constitution, the laws of the country, general morality and public order, and shall not prejudice the freedoms of other citizen.

ARTICLE 25

Right to life and personal integrity

1. Every individual shall have the right to life and personal integrity.
2. The law shall determine the conditions in which death sentence may be passed.

ARTICLE 26

Personal Liberty

1. Every person shall have the right to personal liberty.
2. No person shall be liable to any form of detention or other restrictions of personal liberty, except when apprehended in flagrant delicto pursuant to an act of the competent Judicial authority in the cases and in the manner prescribed by the law.
3. Any person who shall be detained on grounds of security shall without delay be brought before the judicial authority which has competence over the offence for which he is detained within the timelimit prescribed by law.
4. Every person who shall be deprived of his personal liberty shall forth with be informed of the offence of which he is accused.
5. No person shall be searched except in the conditions mentioned in paragraph 2 of this article, or under laws relating to judicial, sanitary, fiscal and security matters, and in the manner prescribed by the law, giving due respect to the honour and integrity of the person.

ARTICLE 27

Security of the person under detention

1. A detained person shall not be subjected to physical or mental torture.

2. Corporal punishment shall be prohibited.

ARTICLE 28

1. Private ownership shall be guaranteed by law, which shall define the modes of acquisition and forfeiture, and the contents and limits of its enjoyment for the purpose of safeguarding its social functions.
2. private property may be expropriated or requisitioned for reasons of public interest, in exchange for equitable compensation.
3. The use of private property shall in no case prejudice the public interest, and the objectives of the revolution.

ARTICLE 29

Privacy of the home

Every person shall be entitled to the inviolability of his home or any other place reserved for personal use except in the cases referred to in paragraph 2 and 5 of article 26.

ARTICLE 30

Freedom of Communication

The right of secrecy of correspondence and other means of communication shall not be tampered with, except in the cases determined by the law.

ARTICLE 31

Freedom of religion

Every person shall be entitled to profess any religion or creed.

ARTICLE 32

Right to institute legal proceedings and right of defence

1. Every person shall have the right to institute legal proceedings before a competent court.
2. Every person shall have the right of defence before a court.
3. The state shall guarantee free legal aid in the conditions and in the manner prescribed by law.

ARTICLE 33

Penal Liability

1. Penal liability shall be personal
2. The accused shall be presumed innocent until the conviction final.

Article 34

Non-retroactivity of penal laws

No person may be punished for an act which was not an offence under the law at the time when it was committed, nor may a punishment be imposed other than the one prescribed by the law in force at the time such offence was committed.

Article 35

Extradition and political asylum

1. The Somali Democratic Republic may extradite a person who has committed a crime in his country or another, and has taken refuge in the Somali Democratic Republic, provided that there is an extradition treaty between the Somali Democratic Republic and the state requesting the extradition of the accused or offender.
2. The Somali Democratic Republic may grant political asylum to a person who has fled his country or another for political reasons while struggling for the interests of the masses, human rights or peace.

Article 36

Protection of public property

Every citizen shall have the duty to protect and consolidate public property.

Article 37

Participation in economic growth

Every person shall have the duty to participate in the economic growth of the country, payment of taxes, contribution to state expenditure according to his capacity and the laws of the country.

Article 38

Defence of the motherland

The defence of the Mother-land and

the consolidation of the unity of the Somali People shall be a sacred duty of every citizen.

Article 39

Observance of the constitution and laws

Every person shall have the duty to faithfully observe the constitution and laws of the state.

Chapter 3

Socio-Economic foundation

Section 1

The Economy

Article 40

Economic Development

1. The state shall develop the economy of the country, and raise production, while assuring an equitable distribution.
2. The state shall encourage the principle of self help for the rapid development of country.

Article 41

The economy of the Somali Democratic Republic shall comprise the following sectors.

- The state sector which shall constitute the vanguard in the economic development of the country and shall be given special priority;
- The cooperative sector which shall be instrumental in promoting the living standards of cooperative members, while promoting the growth of the national economy, and the state shall participate in its planning and encouragement;
- The Private sector which shall be based on non-exploiting private ownership;
- The mixed sector which shall be based on the joint ownership between the Somali state and others

Article 42**Land and marine resources**

1. The land, natural marine and land based resources shall be state property.
2. The state shall promulgate a law prescribing the best methods for exploiting such resources.

Article 43**Economic Planning**

1. The economy of the country shall be founded on socialist state planning.
2. The plan shall have a juridical authority superior to other laws.
3. There shall be a supreme state planning institution, and the law shall establish its structure, duties and powers.

Article 44**External and Internal Trade**

In promoting the economic development of the country the state shall guide external and internal trade.

Article 45**Protection of Currency**

The state shall organise the fiscal and monetary system of the country, and shall by law fix taxes.

Section 2**Promotion of Education and Science****Article 46**

1. The state shall give special priority to the promotion, expansion and dissemination of education and science, and shall consider education as the ideal investment which shall play the leading role in the Somali Political and socio-economic development.
2. Education in the Somali Democratic Republic shall favour the working class, and shall conform to the special conditions and environment of the Somali society.

Article 47**Compulsory Education**

Education, in the Somali Democratic Republic shall be free. It shall be compulsory up to the intermediate school level.

Article 48**Eradication of illiteracy**

Eradication of illiteracy and adult education shall be a national duty towards which the people and state shall pool their resources in its fulfilment.

Article 49**Promotion of Science and arts**

1. The state shall Promote science and arts, and shall encourage scientific and artistic creativity.
2. Copy rights and patent rights shall be regulated by law.

Article 50**Youth and Sports**

In order to ensure health physical and mental growth of the youth, and to raise their level of education and political consciousness the state shall give special importance to the promotion and encouragement of gymnastics and sports.

Section 3**Cultural and social welfare****Article 51****Promotion of culture**

1. The state shall promote the progressive culture of the Somali people, while benefiting from the international culture of human society.
2. It shall promote art, literature and the national folklore.
3. It shall protect and preserve national, historic objects and sites?

Article 52**Social Customs**

The state shall preserve the good cus-

toms, and shall liberate society from outdated customs and those inherited from colonialism specially tribalism, nepotism, and regionalism.

Article 53

Child care

The state shall promote child care homes and revolutionary youth centres.

Article 54

Rural Development

The state shall promote the programme of permanent rural development campaign in order to eradicate ignorance and to narrow the gap between rural and urban life.

Article 55

Health

The state in fulfilling the policy of general health care shall encourage the prevention of contagious diseases, observance of general hygiene, and free medical treatment.

Article 56

Family welfare

1. The state recognising the family as the basis of society shall protect the family and shall assist the mother and child.
2. The state shall be responsible for the care of the handicapped, children of unknown parents and the aged, provided they shall not have anybody to care for them.
3. The state shall guarantee the care of children whose parents die while defending the country.

Article 57

Work and the workers

1. The state shall safeguard and promote without discrimination a remuneration
2. The minimum age for work in the Somali Democratic Republic shall be fifteen years.

3. The workers shall be entitled to receive without discrimination a remuneration equal to the amount and value of work done.
4. The workers shall be entitled to weekly rest and annual leave.
5. The law shall determine the working hours, conditions of service and persons suitable for certain jobs.

Article 58

Evaluation of work

In evaluating work the state shall apply the principle; «from each according to his ability, to each according to his work.»

Article 59

Social insurance and assistance

The state shall promote the system of social insurance and assistance and shall strengthen general insurance institutions of the country.

Chapter 4

State structure

Capital One

People's Assembly

Section I

Functions and Rules of the People's Assembly

Article 60

Legislative power

Legislative power in the Somali Democratic Republic shall exclusively be vested in the People's Assembly.

Article 61

Election to the people's Assembly

1. The People's Assembly shall consist of deputies elected by the people through free direct and secret ballot.
2. Every Somali who attained the age of twenty one years shall be eligible for

election as deputy. The law shall determine the grounds for ineligibility for election to the People's Assembly.

3. The number of deputies, conditions and procedure for election shall be established by a special law.
4. The President of the Somali Democratic Republic may nominate to the People's Assembly upto six persons from among people dedicated to science, Arts, and culture or highly esteemed patriots.

Article 62

Term of office

1. The term of office of each People's Assembly shall be five years beginning from the declaration of election results.
2. In the event of circumstances which shall render the holding of elections impossible, the President of the Somali Democratic Republic shall, after consultations with the central committee of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party, have the power to extend the term of the Assembly for a period not exceeding one year.

Article 63

Dissolution of the people's Assembly

1. The people's Assembly may be dissolved before the expiry of its term of office on the proposal of one third of the deputies and the approval of two thirds of the membership.
2. The people's Assembly may also be dissolved by the president of the Republic after consultations with the central committee of the Somali Revolutionary socialist party and the standing committee of the people's Assembly.
3. The election to the new people's Assembly shall take place within three months beginning from the date of dissolution.

Article 64

Sessions

1. The people's Assembly shall hold two sessions annually.

2. The people's Assembly may be convened in an extraordinary session by a resolution of the standing committee, or on the request of one third of the membership.
3. The president of the Somali Democratic Republic shall have the power to convene extraordinary session of the people's Assembly.

Article 65

Meetings and decisions

1. The People's Assembly at its initial meeting shall elect from among its members: Chairman, vice-chairmen and a standing committee.
2. The meetings of the people's Assembly shall be public. However closed meetings may be held on the motion of the president of the Republic, the Standing committee, Government or not less than one fourth of the deputies, and on the approval of the Assembly.
3. The majority of the deputies of the Assembly shall form a quorum.
4. The Assembly shall reach its decisions by majority vote except when a special majority is required by the constitution or by law.

Article 66

Rules of procedure

1. The conduct of business in the Assembly shall be governed by rules of procedure adopted by the Assembly.

Article 67

Powers of the Assembly

The People's Assembly shall have the following powers;

1. Amendment of constitution;
2. Legislation and approval of decisions on national development;
3. Election and dismissal of the president of the Somali Democratic Republic as expressly stated in article 80 of this constitution;
4. Election and dismissal of the standing Committee of the Assembly;

5. Retification of international treaties relating to political, economic and commercial matters or agreement entailing financial obligation for the state;
6. Ensuring observance of the constitution and the laws of the country;
7. Approval of the national economic development plan;
8. Approval of the annual budget and accounts;
9. Enforcing accountability within the Government and its members;
10. Any other powers granted to the Assembly by the constitution;

Article 68

Delegation of Legislative power

1. The people's Assembly may for a limited period delegate to the Government the power to legislate on specified matters. The enabling legislation may establish the principles or directives which the Government shall follow.
2. Legislative power delegated to the Government shall be exercised through Presidential Decrees.

Article 69

Emergency Decree — Laws

1. In the event of special emergency circumstances, the Government may pass Decree laws which shall have temporary effect, and shall be issued by Presidential Decrees. Such Decrees shall within a month be submitted before the people's Assembly or the standing committee for conversion into laws.
2. The People's Assembly when in session, or the standing committee when the Assembly is in recess, shall reach a decision within fifteen days beginning from the date of the presentation of the decree.

Article 70

Draft Laws

The president of the Somali Democratic Republic

The president of the Somali Democra-

tic Republic, the standing committee, or the Government may present a Draft law to the people's Assembly. A draft law may also be proposed by a member of the people's Assembly provided one third of the membership agreed to such a proposal.

Article 71

Law relating to party Strategy

Every draft law concerning party strategy for the realisation of revolutionary objectives and the system by which it leads the country shall be approved by the central committee, before the People's Assembly shall reach a final decision.

Article 72

Promulgation and publication of law

1. Every law approved by the People's Assembly or the standing committee shall be promulgated by the president within forty five days.
2. The president of the Somali Democratic Republic shall, within the period mentioned in paragraph I of this article, have the power to resubmit such a law to the Assembly Stating the grounds thereof with a request to reconsider the law and reach a decision.
3. Where the Assembly shall approve such a law for the second time by a two third majority, the President shall promulgate it within forty five days.
4. Every law approved by the Assembly and promulgated by the president shall be published in the official bulletin and shall come into force after the fifteen days of its publication, unless the law shall prescribe be a different time limit.

Article 73

The Deputy

1. Every deputy shall represent the General interests of the Somali People.
2. Before assuming functions in the Assembly a Deputy shall take the following Oath:

In the name of God and my country I solemnly a Deputy shall take the following with full con-

fidence serve the Somali people implement the principles of the Revolution of 21st October, 1969, abide by the Constitution and laws of the country, carry out the socialist principles, protect the general interest of the people and the Somali state, defend with all my ability the freedom, independence and unity of the country, put the general interest above my interest, and practise equality and Justice among the Somali people».

3. A Deputy shall not be prosecuted for views and opinions expressed before the Assembly and its various committees in the exercise of his responsibilities.
4. No criminal proceedings shall be instituted against a deputy, nor shall he be arrested, or his person or domicile be subjected to search, except in cases of flagrante delicto or with the authorization of the Assembly or the standing committee, when the Assembly is not in session provided that such an act shall be subsequently validated by the Assembly.
5. A Deputy shall discharge his responsibilities in the Assembly while pursuing his ordinary duties. While the Assembly is in session, or when entrusted with tasks relating to his Assembly responsibility, a Deputy shall be entitled to honorarium which shall be fixed by a special law.

Article 74

Removal and recall of Deputy

1. Every deputy who shall fail to fulfil the conditions of membership or shall fail to discharge the duties relating to his responsibility shall be relieved of such responsibility.
2. The electors may recall any deputy in whom they have lost confidence on the proposal of one fourth of the electors.
3. The decision to relieve the deputy from responsibility shall be by a simple majority of the people's Assembly.

Article 75

Investigations by the Assembly

1. Every Deputy shall have the right to propose motions and put questions to

the Government or its members, which the Government shall be obliged to answer within twenty days.

2. The Assembly may order investigations through committees comprising its members.

Section Two

The Standing Committee

Article 76

Functions of the Standing Committee

The Standing Committee shall be the organ which shall direct the business of the Assembly and shall discharge the functions of the Assembly between recesses and shall have its powers with the exclusion of those mentioned in article 61, paragraphs 1,3,7 and 8 and article 82 paragraphs 3 and 12 of the Constitution.

Article 77

Membership of the Standing Committee

1. The Standing committee shall comprise the following members:-
 - Chairman;
 - Vice — Chairman;
 - Secretary and
 - Ten members.
2. The chairman and vice — chairman of the Assembly shall become the chairman and vice chairmen of the Standing Committee.

Article 78

The powers of the Standing Committee

The standing committee shall have the following powers;

1. Legislation and amendment of laws during recesses, subject to subsequent approval by the Assembly;
2. Interpretation of laws and resolutions of the Assembly;
3. The convening of ordinary and extraordinary sessions of the Assembly;
4. Supervision of election of Deputies to the Assembly;

5. Any other powers granted by the constitution or the people's Assembly.

CAPITAL II

President of the Somali Democratic

Article 79

Head of State

The President of the Somali Democratic Republic shall be the Head of State and shall represent state power and the unity of the Somali people.

Article 80

Election and term of Office

1. The candidate for the President of the Republic shall be proposed by the central committee of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist party and shall be elected by the People's Assembly.
2. The election of the President shall be by a majority of two thirds of the Deputies on the first and second ballots. A simple majority shall suffice on the third ballot.
3. The Assembly may relieve the president of his responsibility in accordance with the procedure laid down in paragraphs 1 and 2 of this article.
4. The President of the Republic shall hold office for six years beginning from the date of taking the Oath of Office and shall be eligible for re-election.
5. Before assuming office, the President shall take the Oath of Office set out in article 73 of the Constitution.

Article 81

Conditions for election

Every Somali whose parents are of Somali origin, and have not married a person not of Somali origin, has fulfilled the conditions for election to the Assembly, and has attained the age of forty may be eligible for election to the Presidency of the Somali Democratic Republic. The president of the Republic while in office shall not marry a person not of Somali origin.

Article 82

Duties and powers of the President

In addition to the powers and duties

granted by the Constitution and the laws, the President of the Somali Democratic Republic shall have the following powers and duties:-

1. Representation of the state in relations with foreign states:
2. Representation of the unitary nature of the political leadership of party and state:
3. Ratification of international treaties relating to defence and security sovereignty and independence of the Republic, on the approval of the Central Committee of the Party and People's Assembly.
4. Ratification of other international agreements.
5. Reception and accreditation of ambassadors and heads of foreign missions.
6. Chairmanship of joint meetings of Party and state institutions.
8. Appointment and dismissal of the ministers and deputy-ministers.
8. Appointment and dismissal of the president of the Supreme court, Attorney-General of the state, having heard the opinion of the Central Committee of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party.
9. Appointment and dismissal of senior state officials having heard the opinion of the council of ministers.
10. Grant pardon and commute sentences
11. To be Commander-in-chief of the armed forces and chairman of the National Defence Council.
12. Declare state of war and peace after decision by the central committee of the Party and the People's Assembly.
13. Initiate a referendum when the country is faced with important issues.
14. To issue Presidential Decrees.
15. Confer medals and other state honours.

Article 83

Extraordinary powers of the President

1. The President of the Somali Democratic Republic, shall have the power, af-

ter consultations with the National Defence Council, to proclaim emergency rule through out the country or a part of it, and take all appropriate measures when faced with grave matters endangering the sovereignty, internal or external security of the country, or in circumstances of absolute necessity.

2. In the event of a state of war the President shall assume power over the entire country, and those articles of the constitution which shall be incompatible with such a situation shall be suspended.

Article 84

Vice Presidents

1. The President of the Somali Democratic Republic having heard the opinion of the central committee of the Party and Peoples Assembly may appoint one or more vice-presidents.
2. Before assuming functions the vice-presidents shall take the oath of office set out in article 73 of the constitution.

Article 85

Incapacity to discharge responsibility

1. In case of death, resignation, or permanent disability of the President of the Somali Democratic Republic, a new President shall be elected within sixty days in accordance with the procedure laid down in article 80 of the constitution.
2. Until the election of a new President, or in case of a temporary disability of the President the first vice President shall temporarily assume the President.

CAPITAL III

The Government

Section I

Central Government

Article 86

Council of Ministers

1. The Council of Ministers shall be the supreme executive organ of the Central Government.

2. The council of Ministers shall consist of the chairman of the council and Ministers.
3. The President of the Somali Democratic Republic shall be the chairman of the Council of Ministers.
4. The President may appoint a Prime Minister if he shall deem it appropriate.

Article 87

Powers of the Council of Ministers

In addition to the powers granted by constitution and laws the council of Ministers shall have the following powers.

1. To present draft laws to the people's assembly.
2. To direct, coordinate and supervise Government activities.
3. To issue decrees.
4. To direct activities relating to the defence of the state.
5. To prepare the annual budget and accounts.
6. To lay down the plan for the economic development of the country.
7. To conclude agreement with foreign countries and international institutions.
8. To take every step to safeguard the interest of the state and public order within the powers granted by the constitution.

Article 88

Organisation of the Government

1. A special law shall establish the powers and functions of the council of ministers not specified by the constitution, the number and functions of the ministries.
2. The structure of the council of ministries and related offices shall be determined by presidential decrees.

Article 89

Penal liability of ministers

1. Ministers shall be liable for crimes

resulting from the execution of their functions.

3. The law shall determine the procedure for prosecuting ministers for crimes mentioned in paragraph 1 of this article and any other crimes.

Article 90

Oath of the office

Before assuming their functions Government members shall take the Oath of office set out in article 73 of the constitution, before the President of the Republic.

Article 91

Government Programme

Subsequent to its appointment, the Government shall present its programme to the central committee of the Party and the People's Assembly.

Article 92

Deputy ministers

Ministers in their functions may be assisted by deputy ministers appointed by the President of the Republic, having heard the opinion of the council of ministers.

Section 2

Decentralisation of power and administration

Article 93

Administrative Decentralisation

As far as possible administrative functions shall be decentralised to local administration and public bodies.

Article 94

Local administration

1. Local administration powers shall be an integral part of the central Government powers in the Somali Democratic Republic.
2. The law shall determine local administrative powers in accordance with the principle of democratic centralism.

Article 95

People's local councils

1. The people shall directly elect members of the people's local councils.
2. The law shall determine the structure, powers, sources of revenue and The relationship between the people's local councils, the party, Peoples' Assembly and the State.

CAPITAL IV

The Judiciary

Section I

Principles of Justice

Article 96

Objectives of Justice

1. The courts and the office of the Attorney-General shall protect the socialist system of the State and its social structure.
2. The courts and the office of the attorney-General, in the fulfilment of their responsibility shall inculcate in the Somali citizen a spirit of participation in the construction of the country, defence of the socialist system, observance of the laws, social cooperation and the faithful discharge of state and social duties.
3. The Judge shall ensure observance of the laws, and shall guarantee the protection of the freedom, rights, and life of the citizen, interests and dignity of the human being.

Article 97

Unity of the Judiciary

The Judiciary of the Somali Democratic Republic shall be unified.

Article 98

Independence of the Judiciary

Judges and Attorney-Generals shall be independent in the performance of their functions and shall be guided by

the rule of law; they shall not be relieved of their responsibilities except in conditions provided by the law.

Article 99

Court Proceedings

1. The Court Proceedings shall in principle be oral and shall be open to the public. The law shall determine the conditions in which the proceedings shall be in Camera.
2. Judgements of courts shall be pronounced in the name of the Somali people.

Section 2

The Courts

Article 100

Courts of the Republic

1. The courts of the Somali Democratic Republic shall comprise the following:
The Supreme Court, Courts of Appeal, Regional courts,
District courts, judicial committees and Military Courts
2. Special courts whose jurisdiction and structure shall be determined by law, may be established.
3. People's judges shall participate in the courts as determined by special law.

Article 101

The supreme Court

The supreme court shall be the highest judicial organ in the Somali Democratic Republic. It shall regulate, and supervise the activities of all the courts.

Article 102

Organisation of the Judiciary

The organisation of the Judiciary in the Somali Democratic Republic and the mode of appointment of judges shall be determined by a special law.

Section 3

The office of the Attorney — General

Article 103

The office of the State Attorney-General

1. The office of the state Attorney-General shall comprise: the Attorney-General and his deputies.
2. The structure of the office of the Attorney-General and the its functions shall be determined by a special law.

Article 104

Responsibilities of the state Attorney-General.

1. The office of the state Attorney - General shall ensure the strict observance of the laws of the country.
2. It shall ensure that the decisions, orders and directions of state institutions are in accordance with the Constitution and the laws of the country.
3. It shall initiate proceedings against anyone who shall commit a crime.
4. It shall supervise the prisons and reformatories.
5. It shall protect the rights of the weak.
6. It shall fulfil any other functions prescribed by the law.

Section 4

The higher Judiciary Council

Article 105

Responsibility of the Higher Judiciary Council

1. The Higher Judiciary Council shall be the organ which shall direct the general policy and administration of the Judiciary.
2. The Higher Judiciary council shall advise the President of the Republic promotion, and dismissal of Judges and members of the office of the Attorney-General.
3. It shall supervise the functions

and conduct of judges and members of the office of the Attorney-General.

4. The structure of the Higher Judiciary Council and its functions shall be determined by a special law.

Article 106

Chairmanship of the Higher Judiciary Council.

The President of the Somali Democratic Republic shall be the chairman of the Higher Judiciary council.

Section 5

Constitutional court

Article 107

Constitutionality of laws

1. There shall be a constitutional court which shall have the power to decide on the constitutionality of laws.
2. The constitutional court shall be composed of the supreme court along with members from the peoples' Assembly nominated by the President of the Republic having heard, the opinion of the standing committee.
3. The Procedure, composition and the term of the constitutional court shall be determined by a special law.

Chapter V

Defence and Security of the Country

Article 108

Responsibilities of the Armed Forces

1. The armed forces shall protect the sovereignty and independence of the Somali Democratic Republic the achievements and fruits of the Revolution against internal and external enemies, ensure internal security and order and shall participate in the construction of the country.
2. The state shall develop the capability and technical expertise of the armed forces, raise their political consciousness, and inculcate in them the spirit

of nationalism and self-sacrifice for the motherland.

Article 109

Structure of the Armed forces

The structure and the organisation of the armed forces shall be determined by a special law.

Article 110

National Defence Council

1. The responsibilities of the National Defence Council shall be to evaluate conditions relating to the defence and the security of the country and mobilise all resources necessary for meeting the defence needs of the country.
2. The President of the Somali Democratic Republic shall be the chairman of the National Defence council and shall appoint other members.
3. The law shall determine the powers of the National Defence Council both in time of peace and war.

Chapter VI

Miscellaneous Provisions

Article III

The Basic law

1. The Constitution shall have supreme legislative authority.
2. The Constitution of the Somali Democratic Republic shall be the basis for all laws, Decrees and order of institutions.

Article 112

Amendments to the Constitution

1. Amendment to the Constitution may be proposed by the President of the Somali Democratic Republic, the Central Committee of the party or one third of the membership of the peoples' Assembly.
2. The Peoples Assembly shall approve Amendments to the constitution by a two thirds majority.

3. Amendments to the constitution shall not affect the following :-

- a. The Republic system of the country.
- b. The adoption of the principle of socialism.
- c. Territorial Unity.
- d. The fundamental rights and freedoms of the citizen and individual.

Article 113

Transitional Provisions

1. The laws at present in force shall con-

tinue to apply and those sections which are found incompatible with the constitution shall be amended within one year.

2. Until such time that the institutions prescribed by the constitution are established, their powers shall be exercised by existing constitution.

Article 114

Entry into Force

The Constitution shall come into force with effect from the date of the declaration of results of the referendum.

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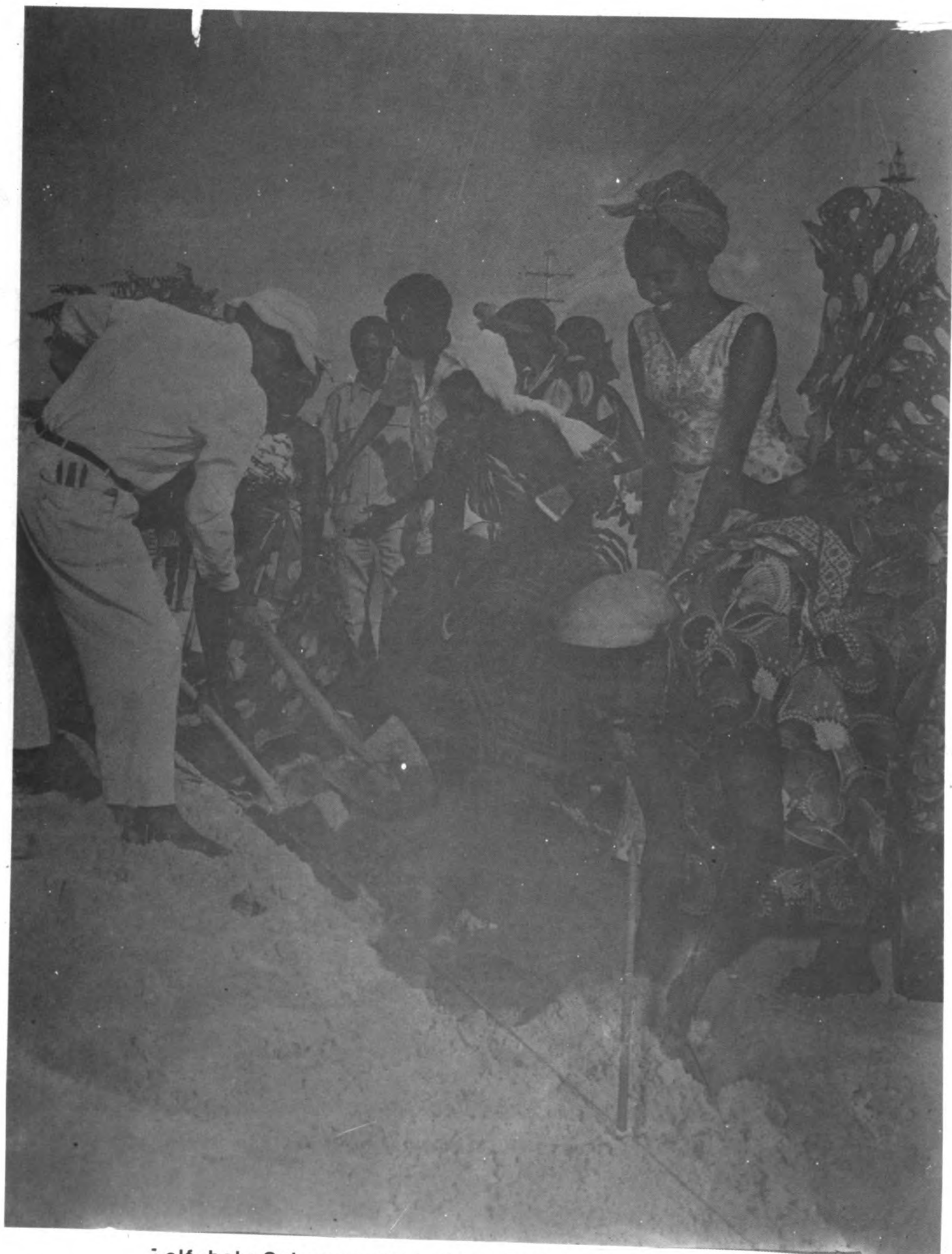
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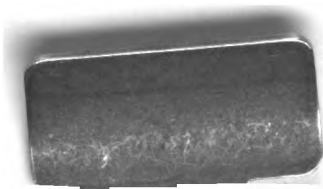
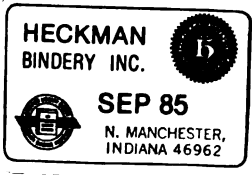
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